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The CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXXIX

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SOME ANCIENT ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND PEACE¹

THE Greek and Roman writers most familiar to us not only lived in a world frequently torn by warfare but have had a good deal to say about war and peace. In such a time as ours it seems natural to ask whether they have any persistent attitudes toward war and peace. Do they regard war as normal, natural, inevitable? Do they regard it as actually good? Or, if not, does it develop any incidental benefits and qualities of character? What are the causes of war? Who benefits by it? What are the benefits of peace, and how can peace be insured? Has peace any defects of its own? In culling answers to some of these questions I shall take most of my illustrations from the Greeks, for they seem to have thought more about these questions than did the Romans; but I realize that I am leaving untouched a great store of material that deserves further study.

Homer's famous description of the "Shield of Achilles"² includes a picture of the siege of a city, with attackers, defenders, ambuscades. It is a vivid picture, but the poet does not indicate where his sympathies lie, nor which side was the aggressor. In telling the grim story of the Trojan War, Homer pays tribute impartially to the heroism of Greeks and Trojans; yet he makes it clear that the carrying off of Helen was the cause of the war. In a sense, the Greeks were justified in attacking Troy; it was only after the fall of Troy that they committed acts which later poets regarded as *hybris*.

For all that, Homer does not revel in describing warfare; he sees the havoc and the suffering, and feels pity. He calls war "bitter",³

¹ A paper read (in slightly abridged form) at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England, at Worcester, Mass., March 27, 1943.

² *Il.* xviii, 509-540.

³ *Il.* x, 8.

his Nestor terms it "evil";⁴ his Zeus addresses Ares as "most hateful . . . of all the gods that dwell on Olympus."⁵ After a great battle scene the poet concludes: "Right hardy of heart would he have been that joyed, and sorrowed not, at the sight of this labor of battle";⁶ again, in the midst of the story of Achilles' final pursuit of Hector, the poet pauses to describe, in a masterly stroke, a landmark in the plain: "springs . . . where the wives and daughters of the men of Troy were wont to wash bright raiment, in the old time of peace, before the sons of the Achaeans came."⁷ Pathetic indeed are the scenes in which warriors meet their doom; for example, Iphidamas, slain by Agamemnon "most piteously, far from his wedded wife, helping the folk of the city."⁸ Zeus himself is moved to pity of wounded Hector,⁹ and of Patroclus and Sarpedon,¹⁰ and is moved to declare: "Methinketh there is nothing more piteous than a man among all things that breathe and creep upon the earth."¹¹ And the worst that is said of Achilles is that he cares not for his fellow-Greeks, "nor pities them at all."¹²

What then are we to say of gods who stir the warriors to battle? Athena "passed dazzling through the Achaean folk, urging them forth; and in every man's heart she roused strength to battle without ceasing and to fight. So was war made sweeter to them than to depart to their dear native land."¹³ What are we to say of gods who incite men on opposite sides, for different motives,¹⁴ or even enter the battle, gods being matched against gods?¹⁵ Above all, what are we to say of a Zeus who, for all his protestations of pity, actually takes pleasure in the carnage? "Aloof from the other gods he sat apart, glad in his glory, looking toward the city of the Trojans, and the ships of the Achaeans, and the glitter of bronze, and the slayers and the slain."¹⁶ Or how shall we think of Zeus when he heard the din of battle "as he sat upon Olympus, and his heart within him laughed pleasantly when he beheld that strife of gods?"¹⁷

Perhaps the simplest answer to this question is to remember that Homer's gods, whatever else they represent, serve also as projec-

⁴ *Il.* i, 284.

⁵ *Il.* v, 890 f.; cf. xi, 73-77.

⁶ *Il.* xiii, 343 f.

⁷ *Il.* xxii, 153-156.

⁸ *Il.* xi, 241 f.

⁹ *Il.* xv, 12.

¹⁰ *Il.* xvi, 430.

¹¹ *Il.* xvii, 446 f.

¹² *Il.* xi, 664 f.

¹³ *Il.* ii, 450-452; cf. xi, 3-14, of Eris.

¹⁴ *Il.* xiii, 345-360; xxii, 165-288.

¹⁵ *Il.* xx, 13-75.

¹⁶ *Il.* xi, 80-83.

¹⁷ *Il.* xxi, 385-390; cf. xx, 22 f.

tions of human feelings and aspirations. So if "the gods stir men to fight," that is another way of saying that men are determined to fight. These things, which Zeus and we find pitiful, have to be, unless man changes his nature; and that contingency does not enter the mind of Homer. But as we enjoy the spectacle of a tragic drama, sad though it is, the heroism as well as the sense of inevitability, so Homer's Zeus is the ideal spectator of all time and space beholding man's actions in their unlimited context. Even Hector knows that one day Troy shall fall. "Yea, of a surety I know this in heart and soul; the day shall come for holy Ilios to be laid low, and Priam and the folk of Priam."¹⁸ Yet he is not so much troubled by the future anguish of the Trojans in general as by the prospect of Andromache's captivity; that is the personal, and tragic, point of view. There is also, to be sure, a more detached point of view. The wall of Troy, says the poet, will last only during the life of Hector and the wrath of Achilles; then the rivers will reduce the landscape to its primeval state.¹⁹ So Vergil's countryman can look forward with equanimity to the ultimate fall of Rome herself.²⁰ To the eye of the mere spectator, all these matters are but brief episodes, mere ripples on the river of time.

To those who feel, however, and do not remain mere spectators, these matters are the stuff of tragedy. But there can be no real tragedy without heroic action and character. And Homer sees in war the emergence of certain heroic virtues, as well as the suffering and the evil. Foremost in the code of the Homeric warrior is courage, which is sometimes described as "delight in battle." Achilles, after the quarrel, "yearned for the war-cry and for battle."²¹ Menelaus "was glad" at the prospect of single combat with Paris.²² The personal code of Hector includes patriotism, courage in battle, honor, and a sensitive regard for public opinion. To the superstitious Polydamas, concerned about omens, he retorts: "One omen is best, to fight for our own country."²³ He rouses the Trojans: "Play the man, my friends, and be mindful of impetuous valor, . . . and

¹⁸ *Il.* vi, 447-449. ¹⁹ *Il.* xii, 3-33.

²⁰ Georg. ii, 498: "res Romanas, perituraque regna"; cf. *ibid.*, iv, 86 f.: the battles of the bees stilled by a little dust, a parable of man's petty struggles. ²¹ *Il.* i, 492.

²² *Il.* iii, 27; cf. xii, 389, Glaucus; xii, 393, Sarpedon; xvi, 208; xvii, 759.

²³ *Il.* xii, 243.

whosoever of you be smitten by dart or blow and meeteth death and fate, so let him die. Lo, it is no dishonorable thing for him to fall fighting for his country, but his wife and his children after him are safe, and his house unharmed, and his lot of land, if but the Achaeans fare with their ships to their dear native land.' So spake he and aroused the might and spirit of every man."²⁴ Here is the motive, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, which Tyrtaeus and Horace will later sound.

Again, Hector exhorts Paris, on whose account the Trojans are dying, and grieves because of the talk that he hears about Paris on the part of the Trojans, who "have much toil for his sake."²⁵ Nevertheless, to Andromache's plea that he consider her and their son, he replies that he himself cannot be a coward; it is his sense of honor (*aidos*) before the Trojan men and women that prevents him from shrinking from battle.²⁶ Nor is this the only occasion on which he shows his concern for his reputation, for what others think of him or about those dear to him.²⁷ Just before his fatal encounter with Achilles and after the dissuasion of his parents, he debates with himself, weighing alternative plans of action, and considering what people would say; then he brushes debate aside: "Better is it to join battle with all speed."²⁸ Thus does Hector subordinate himself and his personal inclinations to the Trojan cause, which he knows to be that of Paris only: "my country, right or wrong," as it were.

The code of Hector finds a parallel in that of Sarpedon with his sense of *noblesse oblige*.²⁹ On the Greek side it is Diomed who, when Agamemnon proposes in earnest the abandonment of the siege of Troy, refuses; let Agamemnon and the rest go, but he and Sthenelus will remain and "fight till we attain the goal of Ilios; for in God's name (*σὺν θεῷ*) are we come."³⁰ Not personal interest, then, but a sense of personal honor requires that a righteous deed, once begun, be completed. Actually, Nestor, realizing that good counsel comes from a full stomach, advises first dinner and then the em-

²⁴ *Il.* xv, 486-500; cf. xiii, 60-80; and similarly Ajax to Greeks, xv, 501-514.

²⁵ *Il.* vi, 326-331; 523-525.

²⁶ *Il.* vi, 441-446; cf. 476-481.

²⁷ *Il.* vi, 441 f.; 459, 479.

²⁸ *Il.* xxii, 99-130.

²⁹ *Il.* xii, 310-328.

³⁰ *Il.* ix 17-49.

bassy to Achilles—a fruitless embassy, since Achilles' sense of honor, too, is touched, this time a narrower, more personal sense. To what terrible deeds this personal sense of honor can lead, Achilles will show after the death of Patroclus, which he feels as a wound to himself, when he slays Lycaon, a son of Priam, and when he maltreats the body of Hector.³¹

Personal motives, then, bulk large in the code of the Homeric hero. And it cannot be emphasized too much that the Trojan War as a whole is occasioned by a personal injury, the carrying off of Helen by Paris, which must be righted and avenged. Menelaus is the aggrieved party: the rest of the Greeks accompany him not because of any quarrel of their own but because of their various bonds of obligation to him. This point Horace sagely sums up: *Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*.³² There is hardly yet any feeling of international law having been violated. So Achilles, in the Embassy, asks: "Why must the Argives make war on the Trojans? Why hath Atreides gathered his host and led them hither? Is it not for lovely-haired Helen's sake? Do then the sons of Atreus alone of mortal men love their wives? Surely whatsoever man is good and sound of mind loveth his own and cherisheth her, even as I too loved mine with all my heart, though but the captive of my spear."³³ The same logic that forces the Greeks to attack Troy on behalf of Menelaus therefore leads to their temporary defeat when Agamemnon carries off the bride of Achilles.

The Trojans, for their part, naturally blame Paris for their sufferings.³⁴ When Menelaus and Paris prepare to fight in single combat to decide the whole issue, both Greeks and Trojans pray: "Father Zeus . . . whichsoe'er it be that brought this trouble upon both peoples, vouchsafe that he may die, . . . that so for us peace may be assured and trusty oaths."³⁵ Later, the Trojan Antenor goes so far as to propose that Helen and the wealth stolen with her be surrendered to the Greeks: "Now fight we in guilt against the oaths of faith; therefore is there no profit for us that I hope to see fulfilled, unless we do thus."³⁶ The proposal is rejected by Paris, who will go so far only as to surrender the wealth, together with

³¹ *Il.* XXI, 34-135; XXII, 331-354. ³² *Epist.* I, 2; 14. ³³ *Il.* IX, 337-343.

³⁴ *Il.* VI, 327-329; 525. ³⁵ *Il.* III, 320-323. ³⁶ *Il.* VII, 345-353.

more of his own, but not Helen. When the Trojan herald takes this astonishing proposal to the Greek camp, adding on his responsibility a curse on Paris, as author of the war, and implying that the Trojans are urging him to restore Helen, the Greeks naturally reject the offer. It is Diomed who speaks: "Let no man now accept Alexandrus' substance, neither Helen's self; known is it, even to him that hath no wit at all, that the issues of destruction hang already over the Trojans."³⁷ The war, in other words, has already gone too far to admit of a negotiated peace; both honor and fate demand a fight to the finish.

But it is above all Thersites, spokesman of the common people, who sees the war as bringing profit only to Agamemnon. And when even Agamemnon proposes a return to Greece (this time only to test the temper of the people), and Odysseus seeks to check the stampede that follows, Thersites chides not only Agamemnon but the common soldiers who have been pulling his chestnuts out of the fire for him: "Soft fools, base things of shame, . . . let us depart home with our ships, and leave this fellow here in Troy-land to gorge him with meeds of honor, that he may see whether our aid avail him aught or no."³⁸ Thersites is not an attractive figure, either to Homer or to us, though we may feel that he does not deserve the drubbing that Odysseus immediately gives him, and still less deserves to be laughed at for his discomfiture by the very soldiers whose cause he has championed. Homer, it appears, however, has little sympathy with the common soldier, fickle creature that he paints him.

Here, then, are the two chief attitudes toward war that we have discerned in Homer: on the one hand, the idealization of the warrior's code; and on the other hand, and less prominent, the realistic "debunking" of war as the private quarrel of the few at the sad expense of the many. Both will reappear throughout later Greek literature.

Callinus, for us the earliest of the elegists, echoes the warrior's code of Hector. To the Ephesians, invaded by the Cimmerians, he sounds the call to arms: "How long," he asks, "will ye lie craven, as if at peace, when war grips the land? 'Tis an honorable and a glorious thing for a man to fight for his country and his children

³⁷ *Il.* vii, 400-402.

³⁸ *Il.* ii, 235-238.

and his wedded wife, against the foe; death will come when the Fates spin it; meanwhile, *aux armes!*" (Callinus 1, Diehl.)

Tyrtaeus, singing for the Spartans, sounds a similar note, developing the contrast between the hero and the coward, and enlarging on the unseemliness of an old soldier's dying in the van, and on the positive beauty of the slain young warrior, here again echoing Homer.³⁹ In his longest surviving fragment Tyrtaeus dismisses with contempt athletic prowess, beauty, wealth, high birth, and eloquence, as nothing worth, unless crowned by "impetuous valor" which is "a man's excellence" and the best prize of all, and is attended by every honor.⁴⁰ But in all his poems of exhortation Tyrtaeus seems to be on the defensive, argumentative, seeking to arouse a people who need to be convinced that there is reason to risk their lives in battle, since they know well the "destructive works of lamentable Ares, the temper of grievous war."⁴¹ The poems imply that the Spartans are not naturally warlike. Nor do they base their plea on the justice of the Spartans' cause as against the Messenians; indeed, the phrase "fight for one's country" is now merely traditional, and actually the Spartans are seeking to crush an oppressed and revolting people. But the plea of the poems still rests on the Homeric knightly code of the warrior.

The case is somewhat different with Solon, when he arouses the Athenians to do battle to recover the island of Salamis, now held by an alien people, the Megarians; but again, like an Homeric hero, he uses as an argument what people will say of the Athenians if they are slack and lose Salamis forever.⁴²

Of the tragic poets, Aeschylus is the most often martial in spirit. Entirely in the epic manner, in the *Persians*, is the Persian messenger's magnificent narrative of the battle of Salamis, with its tribute to the heroism and the democracy⁴³ of the Athenians, a tribute doubly impressive since it comes from the enemy. The whole play implies that the Persian defeat was the fated and divine punishment of Persian arrogance; yet is it so framed as to serve also as a warning to Athens against similar arrogance. Of like import is the messenger's speech in the *Seven*, a play "full of Ares,"

³⁹ Tyrtaeus 6, 7, Diehl; cf. *Il.* xxii, 71-76.

⁴⁰ Tyrtaeus 9, Diehl.

⁴¹ Tyrtaeus 8, 7 f.

⁴² Solon 2, Diehl; cf. *Il.* vi, 441 f.; 459; 479; xii, 310-328.

⁴³ *Pers.* 242.

as Aristophanes declares,⁴⁴ conjuring up the picture of the besiegers and the defenders of Thebes moving into battle. But the chief interest of the play lies in the tragic figure of Eteocles, whose patriotism and whose heroic endurance of a tragic doom ennoble a distressing tale of crime.

For the rest, both Aeschylus and Sophocles seem to accept war, in the epic spirit, as the inevitable result of the private quarrels of princes, whose peoples will of course follow their leadership, may gain a little in case of victory, and will surely lose much, perhaps life itself, in case of defeat. A notable exception occurs in the earliest extant play of all, the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus, in which, by a patent anachronism, the poet represents the king of Argos as leaving to his people the decision whether they shall defend by force, if necessary, the suppliant maidens from their pursuers. But the play that most clearly exhibits the usual situation is the *Oedipus at Colonus* of Sophocles, which includes the events leading up to the campaign of the Seven against Thebes. The private quarrel of the brothers, Eteocles and Polynices, and the curse of their father Oedipus, fall into the pattern of mortal affairs on which Oedipus comments to Theseus in a gnomic, almost lyric, speech of rare and grave beauty:

Kind son of Aegeus, to the gods alone comes never old age or death, but all else is confounded by all-mastering time. Earth's strength decays, and the strength of the body; faith dies, distrust is born; and the same spirit is never steadfast among friends, or betwixt city and city; for be it soon or be it late, men find sweet turn to bitter, and then once more to love. And if now all is sunshine between Thebes and thee, yet Time, in his untold course, gives birth to days and nights untold, wherein for a small cause they shall sunder with the spear that plighted concord of to-day . . . if Zeus is still Zeus, and Phoebus, son of Zeus, speaks true.⁴⁵

We must turn now from the heroic conception of war to the other conception that was less clearly recognized by Homer. Hesiod, for all his debt to the Homeric poems in matters of diction and of general background, is also the spokesman of the toiling farmer of a new age. The quarrels of princes do not interest him; but he protests against the wrong kind of strife, that Eris which is not generous emulation but is rather self-seeking envy and acquisitiveness, and is indeed a source of "evil" war.⁴⁶ "Fools are

⁴⁴ *Frogs* 1021.⁴⁵ *O.C.* 607-623.⁴⁶ *W.D.* 11-26.

they who do not know that the half is better than the whole."⁴⁷ Although Hesiod does not specify war among the evils that we owe to Pandora's indiscretion, his "Myth of the Ages" introduces war as one of the symptoms of the progressive degeneration of the world. The Age of Gold, of course, is free from war; but the Age of Silver betrays a propensity to *hybris*; and in the Age of Bronze men are guilty of *hybris* and the "mournful deeds of Ares." The men of the Heroic Age are "more just" as well as "more martial," but engage in "evil war and the dread din of battle"; yet some of them at last reach the Islands of the Blessed.⁴⁸ Worst of all are the men of the Iron Age; worst, but showing their wickedness in their private lives, rather than in warfare. Later, however, Hesiod describes the rewards of righteous men: famine shall not fall to their lot, nor war; peace is the nurse of their children; while the wicked and their armaments are laid low.⁴⁹ Thus, with Hesiod the voice of the common man finds expression, and an ethical interpretation of war and peace emerges.

Presently the heroic conception of war is attacked from another quarter. Archilochus could write swashbuckling verses with the best, servant of the war-god as of the Muses, winning his bread and wine by his spear.⁵⁰ But his nonchalant account of the shield that he actually *threw away*, so as to save his skin, violated the knightly, heroic code which most Greeks still held dear.⁵¹ This was a shocking confession, if it was true (it need not be); no wonder that Plutarch recounts⁵² that "when Archilochus visited Sparta he was driven out of the city at a moment's notice because they discovered that he had said in a poem that it was better to throw away one's arms than be slain." But the harm has already been done; the Ionian spirit has punctured the pretensions of the heroic code, and other poets in turn will with impunity throw away, or pretend to throw away, their shields and live to fight, or to sing, another day. So Alcaeus,⁵³ that virtuoso in arms and revolutions; so

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 157-173.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 225-247.

⁵⁰ Archilochus 1; 2, Diehl; cf. Hybrias, Diehl II, 128.

⁵¹ Archilochus 6, Diehl; for the Spartans, cf. the familiar "with your shield or on it"; and Thucydides (VII, 45), writing of the year 413 B.C., thinks it worthy of mention that the Athenians in escaping from a night battle flung away their shields.

⁵² *Inst. Lac.* 239B.

⁵³ 16; 49; 50; 54, Diehl; cf. Herodotus V, 95.

Anacreon;⁵⁴ and so Horace.⁵⁵ "What is honor?" asks Falstaff. "A word. What is in that word honor? What is that honor? Air . . . Who hath it? He that died o' Wednesday."⁵⁶ We have not done with this irreverent short shrift of the idealization of the knightly code. Aristophanes is full of it, as well as of the idyllic glorification of the blessings of peace that we find also in a fragment of Bacchylides,⁵⁷ which lists wealth and song and religious rites, games and revelry, the spider's web on the shield:

Rust to the pointed spear and sword doth cleave,
The brazen trump sounds no alarms;
Nor is sleep harried from the eyes aloof,
But with sweet rest my bosom warms;
The streets are thronged with lovely men and young,
And hymns in praise of boys like flames to Heaven are flung.

(Tr. J. A. Symonds)

Aristophanes, though an admirer of the Marathon fighters, always takes a realistic view of war and peace, and specifically opposes the Peloponnesian War and the Periclean policies that led to it. Just how seriously we are to take his comic sallies, just how far he represents the peace-loving country democrats as opposed to the more jingoist city and harbor democrats, are questions that we need not pursue here. It is at least clear that by 425 B.C., when he brought out the earliest of his extant comedies, the *Acharnians*, he has a good notion of the economic causes of warfare. The burlesque suggestion of a cause, the carrying off of a few women on either side,⁵⁸ is of course mere parody of the traditional cause of the Trojan War and of Herodotus' account of the background of the Persian Wars,⁵⁹ an account which the historian himself offers with a good many grains of salt. Aristophanes' hero, the peasant Dicaeopolis, has been too long in city pent, and yearns for peace and the country. Though he loathes the Spartans, he is big enough to see two sides to the quarrel between Athens and Sparta; not all the wrong is on the Spartans' side. So, to the horror of the *Acharnians*, peasants like himself, he concludes a private peace with the enemy, with material and gastronomic consequences much to be envied by the bellicose general Lamachus. If the play be extravaganza, many of the spectators must have been set wonder-

⁵⁴ 51, Diehl.

⁵⁵ *Odes* II, 7, 9.

⁵⁶ *Henry IV*, Pt. I., v, 1.

⁵⁷ 4, Blass.

⁵⁸ 523-529.

⁵⁹ Herodotus I, 1-5.

ing whether the War was a profitable undertaking. Four years later the Peace of Nicias, temporary though it proved to be, must at the time have seemed to Aristophanes a vindication of his views; his comedy, the *Peace*, is a triumphant celebration of the rescue of Peace, hitherto imprisoned by War. But that is not all. The poet also stresses the fratricidal nature of a war between Greeks in the interest of a few men,⁶⁰ the joy of the reconciled cities,⁶¹ the country delights now restored by Peace,⁶² and the rehabilitation of the farmers who have been ruined in character, as well as in property, by the War.⁶³

Ten years later, after the disaster of Syracuse and the threat of new upheavals, Aristophanes put forth another peace play. The *Lysistrata* presents a women's revolt against war, as the destroyer of homes and home life, particularly as the defrauder of young girls' hopes of marriage.⁶⁴ Moreover, when the heroine seizes the Acropolis and the treasury, she defends her act by arguing that war is caused by the political ambition of demagogues and by the profit motive, which her act now frustrates.⁶⁵ Most important of all, she has enlisted the aid of women in the enemy states. The *Lysistrata*, therefore, far more than the *Peace*, is a play advocating Panhellenism, coöperation, and reconciliation.⁶⁶ Like all idealistic programmes announced amid the stress of terrible emergencies, this suggestion of Aristophanes had no chance of immediate and complete adoption, and was even inopportune; but, like all such proposals advanced under such circumstances, it left a deep impression on the minds of thoughtful men. The age of Panhellenism was to be in the next century; the orators and philosophers were to be its spokesmen, Philip and Alexander were to give it a certain form of expression.

Opposed though they were in almost every other way, Aristophanes and Euripides saw eye to eye on the question of war and peace. Since most of the legends that Euripides used in his tragedies were set in the heroic age, it is not surprising that war is at least in their backgrounds, and is presented as one of the facts in human experience. But in those of his plays that may be called "war-tragedies" he shows a rising indignation against the horrors

⁶⁰ 292-304. ⁶¹ 538-540. ⁶² 566-581; 1127-1169.

⁶³ 551-555; 603-650.

⁶⁴ 588-597.

⁶⁵ 488-497.

⁶⁶ 1133 f.

of warfare. The background, of course, is provided for us by Thucydides, in whose pages we may trace the progressive degeneration of the Athenian character. So Euripides, too, at first an Athenian patriot, loses his illusions and rises above mere patriotism to the espousal of a more universal humanity.

Thus the *Hecuba* shows the widow of Priam, after the fall of Troy, first the victim of Greek vengeance, and then, under pressure of cruel circumstances, herself taking terrible vengeance on a Trojan ally who falls within her power. Here the deepest tragedy is not in what Hecuba suffers but in what she brings herself to do, with diabolical cruelty.

The refusal of the Boeotians after the battle of Delium to surrender the Athenian dead, "transgressing," as Thucydides says,⁶⁷ "the accepted conventions of the Greeks," is reflected in the *Suppliants* of Euripides, in which the idealized Athenian king of legend, Theseus, is prevailed upon to recover, for the suppliant mothers of the chieftains who had fallen in the battle of the Seven against Thebes, their bodies for burial. We may note in passing the exclamation of Adrastus:⁶⁸ "Ye cities, though ye might by reason settle your ills, yet ye bring your disputes to a conclusion by bloodshed, not by reason."

The clemency imputed to the Athenian tradition by this play, if it really existed, soon suffered a notable decline, as the brutal treatment of the little island of Melos made clear. Euripides threw his fierce indignation into the greatest of his war-plays, the *Trojan Women*. Here the Athenians, who, like all the Greeks, have been brought up on the Homeric tradition to see in the Trojan War a glorious triumph of Greece over barbarian arms (though with respect for the nobility of the Trojans), are invited to behold the reverse of the tapestry: the sufferings of the vanquished, and the judgment of Heaven on the victors. Yet the theme, drawn from the legendary past, reaches far beyond the audience of the poet's own day; we who have seen the play performed during the tragic wars of our own generation have felt in it the sorrows of innocent peoples of our day and the moral condemnation of armed tyranny. Yet what grows on the spectator is a realization that in the case of the crushed Trojan women—Cassandra, Andromache, and Hecuba (a very different figure from that of the play that bears her

⁶⁷ IV, 97.⁶⁸ 642 f.

name, and a very noble figure)—their spirit rises with each blow of misfortune. The worst that can befall humanity, we learn, is not the suffering but the doing of injustice (as Plato's Socrates will also hold); and pity reaches out to include not only the innocent victims of injustice but even its blind perpetrators.

I have already referred to Thucydides. His pages reflect the fact that Greece, from the earliest times down to his own time, had been normally in a state of war, even if wars were usually border raids or acts of piracy. With the rise of city-states (*poleis*), a great part of statesmanship consisted in determining just when war must necessarily be accepted or could most advantageously be instigated.⁶⁹ The debates just before the Peloponnesian War are full of the arguments of men, on either side, who realized that the conflicts of interests and the smouldering animosities and suspicions engendered by the rise of the Athenian Empire were bound to end in war, but who hoped that the inevitable war might be hastened or delayed in such a way as to manoeuvre the other side into the position of having begun the war, or might come when their own side was best prepared for it. Thus the Corinthians, urging on the Spartans the necessity of war:

Out of war peace gains fresh stability, but to refuse to abandon repose for war is not so sure a method of avoiding danger. We must believe that the tyrant city that has been established in Hellas has been established against all alike, with a programme of universal empire, part fulfilled, part in contemplation; let us then attack and reduce it, and win future security for ourselves and freedom for the Hellenes who are now enslaved.⁷⁰

As if in answer, Pericles tells his fellow-Athenians:

It must be thoroughly understood that war is a necessity; but that the more readily we accept it, the less will be the ardor of our opponents, and that out of the greatest dangers communities and individuals acquire the greatest glory.⁷¹

After the first year of the War, Pericles describes, in the magnificent Funeral Oration, his vision of the Athens for which it is worth while, if necessary, to die. And still later, in his last speech, justifying the war, he argues:

For those, of course, who have a free choice in the matter, and whose fortunes are not at stake, war is the greatest of follies. But if the only choice was between submission with loss of independence, and danger with the hope of preserving that independence,—in such a case it is he who will not accept the

⁶⁹ Even Plato (*Statesman* 304E) defines politics as the art of knowing how to advise when to go to war and when to make peace.

⁷⁰ I, 124.

⁷¹ I, 145.

risk that deserves blame, not he who will. . . . Besides, to recede is no longer possible; . . . for what you hold is, to speak somewhat plainly, a tyranny; to take it perhaps was wrong, but to let it go is unsafe.⁷²

There, of course, is the fatal dilemma of imperialism in a nutshell; and it follows that even a democracy, once it embarks on an imperialistic policy, must lose something of its democratic ways, if it is to be efficient and is to survive. So Cleon, hard and realistic, remarks apropos of the apparent softness of his countrymen toward the revolting men of Mitylene: "A democracy is incapable of empire."⁷³ Plato will presently remark⁷⁴ that an oligarchy, being a state divided against itself, is at a disadvantage in war. Only a totalitarian state, it would therefore appear, is totally fit for war.

If the eyes of Thucydides were open to the trends in Greek politics that led inevitably to the Peloponnesian War, he saw no less clearly the tragic deterioration in human nature that accompanied the war, here agreeing with Euripides. Commenting on the aftermath of the revolution in Corcyra, in which "the whole Hellenic world was convulsed," as democratic states struggled to introduce Athenians and oligarchic states to introduce Spartans, he declares: In peace there would have been neither the pretext nor the wish to make such an invitation; but in war, with an alliance always at the command of either faction for the hurt of their adversaries and their own corresponding advantage, opportunities for bringing in the foreigner were never wanting to the revolutionary parties. The sufferings which revolution entailed upon the cities were many and terrible, such as have occurred and always will occur, as long as the nature of mankind remains the same. . . . In peace and prosperity states and individuals have better sentiments, because they do not find themselves suddenly confronted by imperious necessities; but war takes away the easy supply of daily wants, and is a teacher of violence, and lowers the mood of the masses to the level of contemporary events.⁷⁵

The masterly anatomy of revolution that follows these remarks can be verified, unfortunately, from the pages of newspapers in 1943.

Let us now turn for a moment to the philosophers. The poet Hesiod has found in the wrong kind of strife the source of injustice. But Heraclitus not only finds in change a prime reality but finds in strife, the war of opposites, the secret of processes and even of harmony. "War is the father of all, the king of all, and is common to all, and strife is justice;"⁷⁶ harmony is symbolized by the taut bow and the lyre.⁷⁷ Somewhat in this fashion Empedocles, too, sees

⁷² II, 61-63.

⁷³ Thucydides III, 37.

⁷⁴ *Rep.* 551E.

⁷⁵ Thucydides III, 82.

⁷⁶ *Frgs.* 53 and 80, Diels.

⁷⁷ *Frgs.* 51, Diels.

in Strife, albeit alternating with Love, the key to cosmic processes.⁷⁸ Presently, in the age of the sophists, certain half-baked philosophers attempt to explain the principles of human justice in terms of self-seeking acquisitiveness, the "getting of more" (*pleonexia*). But Socrates, as Plato represents him, convicts Thrasymachus of inconsistency; neither individuals nor states that recognize no internal regulative principle or limit can be just or happy. Moreover, uncurbed growth of desires inevitably leads to covetousness, and so to war.⁷⁹ Even the guarding of the state from enemies within and without requires a balance of fierceness and gentleness like that of the watch-dog, that philosophic animal.⁸⁰

Occasional warfare between Greeks and barbarians Plato seems in the *Republic* to regard as all but inevitable, or even natural: "Greeks wage war with barbarians, and barbarians with Greeks, and are enemies by nature, and *polemos* is the fit name for this enmity." But Greeks are by nature the friends of Greeks, he goes on to say; and if they fight it is a case of *stasis*, a disease, a state divided against itself. Hence the strife should be mitigated by every possible forbearance; Greeks should not enslave Greeks, or plunder the dead, or refuse them burial, or keep trophies, or ravage lands and houses; their crops they may take away, but without laying waste the soil:

Their temper shall be that of men who expect to be reconciled and not always to wage war; . . . and they will not admit that in any city all the population are their enemies, men, women, and children, but will say that only a few at any time are their foes, those, namely, who are to blame for the quarrel; . . . they will carry the conflict only to the point of compelling the guilty to do justice by the pressure of the suffering of the innocent.⁸¹

However much we may regret that Plato did not carry further his conception of the natural friendship of Greeks to include the conception of the brotherhood of all men (as did certain sophists, and as did the Stoics somewhat later), his ideas were superior to the practice of his day. And in the few words about the "pressure of the suffering of the innocent" as the means of forcing the guilty to do justice we have a grim reminder of the use in modern warfare of blockades and bombing—in a word, of "total" warfare.

In his more realistic moods, in the *Statesman* and in the *Laws*,

⁷⁸ Frags. 31B, 16; 20, Diels. ⁷⁹ *Rep.* 373DE.

⁸⁰ *Rep.* 375A-376C. ⁸¹ *Rep.* 469B-471C.

Plato shows himself to be a believer in peace, but in a peace that insures itself by preparedness against war:

Men are always at war with one another. . . . What men in general term peace is only a name; in reality every city is in a natural state of war with every other. . . . But war, whether external or civil, is not the best, and the need of either is to be deprecated; but peace with one another, and good will, are best. Every one of us should live the life of peace as long and as well as he can. . . .⁸²

No man can be a true statesman [urges Plato] whether he aims at the happiness of the individual or of the state, who looks only, or first of all, to external warfare; nor will he ever be a sound legislator who orders peace for the sake of war and not war for the sake of peace.⁸³

So Plato takes to task Tyrtaeus, with his praise of military valor, for voicing only a half-truth; for military virtue is only a part of complete virtue, that virtue which by justice, temperance, and wisdom, as well as by courage and preparedness and manoeuvres in time of peace, makes war unlikely.⁸⁴

It is quite in the spirit of Plato that Aristotle criticizes the Spartan ideal not only as inadequate but as having failed even in the military sense. Warfare can be justified only if it is defensive, or if it is for the good of conquered subjects, or if the subjects are "natural" slaves and thus deserve to be ruled. The lesson of history, he concludes, is that states that aim only at military success, even if they succeed temporarily, collapse in the end; they lose their temper in time of peace, since they have not been educated for peace.⁸⁵

The philosophic schools that claimed descent from Plato and Aristotle had their influence on the constitutions and the law of the Hellenistic cities, and affected to some extent the tendency to resort to diplomacy rather than to war. But the age was one of increasing individualism; and the new schools, the Epicureans and the Stoics, agreed in seeking for the individual, though by diverse methods, an imperturbability or peace of mind (*ataraxia*). The Epicurean gods, living their calm life apart, were a pattern for men who might by gentleness and friendliness and intellectual detachment attain to something like it, if conditions permitted. So in the great Proem to his first book Lucretius prays to Venus, the goddess of Love, to exercise her power over Mars, the god of War, in a period of civil strife, and to make, as she alone can, the works of war-

⁸² *Laws* 626A; 628B; 803E.

⁸³ *Laws* 628CD.

⁸⁴ *Laws* 628-632D; 829A-831A; *Statesman* 307E-308A.

⁸⁵ *Politics* 1333A30-1334A10.

fare to cease on sea and land; without her, nothing joyous or lovable can arise, the poet cannot think or write, nor can Memmius desert arms for philosophy. War, as well as political ambition and avarice and superstition, are the subjects of the satire of Lucretius; peace, serenity, tranquillity, godlike calm, are his constant goal.

The Stoics withdrew less from the world than did the Epicureans, and took a more active part, as soldiers or jurists or statesmen, in the struggle of good against evil. They are often patriots in their own states, but they are also citizens of the *cosmos*, transcending petty national barriers, and bowing only to Nature and Reason. But the Peace that they seek is primarily a peace that the world cannot give, for it comes from self-discipline. "When a man has this peace," writes Epictetus, "not proclaimed by Caesar (for how should he be able to proclaim it?), but by God through reason, is he not content when he reflects: 'Now no evil can happen to me?'"⁸⁶

The philosophers have provided us with a bridge from Greece to Rome. But we must now turn back and glance, however briefly, at Rome's earlier career, before philosophy reached her. It would be idle to pretend that the Romans were never a martial, conquering nation. History, the landmarks of archaeology, legend, the *exempla virtutum* preserved in Latin literature, all testify to the strength of character by which a little people by the Tiber enveloped successively larger areas, till not only Italy but provinces in three continents were included in a single empire. But a study of the successive stages in this expansion will show that until the age of Pompey it was not caused by any special aggressiveness on the part of the Romans; usually it was wars of defense that ended with the annexation of new territory. The ritual of the fetial priests served to delay the outbreak of wars; the aristocracy was generally slow to accept the responsibility of conquest; so far as there was a party interested in aggression, it was the popular party. But the difficulty facing the Romans, like other peoples who have successfully resisted aggression and who have then sought to consolidate their gains, proved to be that there is seldom any natural limit to such expansion. The classic statement of the "compulsory forward policy," made in 1864 by the Russian Prince Gortchakoff (quoted in my book, *The Achievement of Rome*, 49 f.), applies to many

⁸⁶ *Discourses* III, 13, 12.

peoples who began by defending themselves and ended by finding themselves possessed of empires. Presently the economic and social changes caused by the foreign wars of the Roman Republic brought about in turn the civil wars and the century of revolution that ended only with Actium. Justice to allies and to subject peoples alike called for drastic reforms, which the Empire did in part effect. Not further conquest but consolidation and wise administration was the counsel both of justice and of prudence. The measured and magisterial sentences of Gibbon⁸⁷ still need but slight correction in the light of modern scholarship:

The seven first centuries of Roman history were filled with a rapid succession of triumphs; but it was reserved for Augustus to relinquish the ambitious design of subduing the whole earth and to introduce a spirit of moderation into the public councils. Inclined to peace by his temper and situation, it was easy for him to discover that Rome, in her present exalted situation, had much less to hope than to fear from the chance of arms; and that, in the prosecution of remote wars, the undertaking became every day more difficult, the event more doubtful, and the possession more precarious, and less beneficial. . . . He bequeathed, as a valuable legacy to his successors, the advice of confining the empire within those limits which nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwarks and boundaries.

This advice, as Gibbon goes on to recount, "was adopted by the fears and vices of his immediate successors." But empires are sometimes easier to win than to administer or to liquidate, with any safety, for high political or moral motives; so Pericles had learned, so were the Romans to learn, and so more than one modern imperial state. But we need not here follow Rome through her decline and fall.

The fact of military expansion and the fact of empire preceded any Roman consideration of Rome's mission, and any qualms about the morality of war. By the last generation of the Republic, however, there were patriotic Romans ready to protest against warfare, above all against civil war. Apparently the poets were in the van. I have already mentioned the prayer of Lucretius for peace; and it must suffice to remind ourselves, in closing, of a very few other poets who sought to point the way to a better world.

⁸⁷ *Decline and Fall*, Chap. 1.

Young Horace during the civil wars voiced the despair of thoughtful Romans. His sixteenth epode suggests that the only hope lies in migration to happier islands in the west; his ode on the "Ship of State"⁸⁸ expresses his deep anxiety, ten years later, lest Rome suffer shipwreck; and the second ode of the first book suggests, as do other poems of the period, that the wickedness of civil war is being punished by the gods. Even when the Augustan reign is being established, and the six ringing odes that open the third book voice the rising confidence of patriotic Romans in the return of the austere virtues of an earlier Rome, Horace is willing to let stand at the very end⁸⁹ the lines, perhaps written earlier, in which he traces with terrible force the decay of Rome from generation to generation. Yet Horace is not an actual pacifist; he glorifies the military triumphs of Rome over foreign foes.

As if in answer to the sixteenth epode of Horace, young Vergil, possibly heartened by the Treaty of Brundisium, or possibly merely by his own and other men's vision of the dawn of a better world, paints in his fourth bucolic the pageant of a returning Golden Age; a pageant linked with the birth of a wonder-child, and recalling to us the pastoral beauty of both pagan and Hebrew prophecy. We note, in passing, that the better age will come only gradually, that there are still wars to be fought (due to traces of "original sin"), and that another expeditionary force will do battle before the new age attains to its perfection. If the particular wonder-child whom Vergil expected was never born, and if his hopes were to be postponed,—shall we say till the Augustan Age had fully secured itself, or shall we say till the birth of a Savior in Bethlehem, or shall we admit that the followers of the Prince of Peace have not even yet carried into full effect the fulness of His teaching?—even so, there was, as Gibbon proclaimed, a new temper in the new age. A symbol of the times is to be seen in the superb *Ara Pacis Augustae*, voted by the Senate in 13 B.C. in honor of the Emperor and the peace restored by him, and dedicated in 9 B.C. Nevertheless, it was still possible for foreigners to observe, like the Briton quoted by Tacitus,⁹⁰ that the Romans have not yet foresworn wars against other peoples: *auferre trucidare rapere*

⁸⁸ I, 14.⁸⁹ *Odes* III, 6, 45-48.⁹⁰ *Agr.*, 30, 7.

falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.

But before this Vergil had written his *Georgics* and his *Aeneid*. The former, setting forth the blessings and the philosophy of country life, records the poet's horror at the upheaval that followed the death of Julius Caesar: civil war, and foreign wars lowering from the Euphrates and from Germany: *saevit toto Mars impius orbe*.⁹¹ It records, too, the happy lot of the farmer at his best, undisturbed by wars in the Balkans, undisturbed even by the thought that Rome herself may some day suffer eclipse; his is now the life once lived by all men in the Golden Age, before there were wars.⁹² So, too, Tibullus, lover, rustic, and (let us not forget) once a soldier not without honor, celebrates with a wistfulness of his own the fabled charms of the Golden Age, among them, and above all, peace.⁹³

The *Aeneid* is a poem of heroic action, and has its full share of warfare. But it reveals the poet's growing sense of Rome's mission as a civilizing, as well as a conquering nation: "to rule the peoples, and crown peace with law; to spare the conquered, and beat down the proud."⁹⁴ This is the task of a steel hand in a velvet glove. It will serve no useful purpose to pretend that the Romans, even during the Empire, were a particularly peaceful people. Yet the patient, intelligent, and often generous spirit of their jurists and administrators for a long time made for tranquillity and peace. Vergil himself, however, understood to the full the obstacles to Rome's mission that human nature presented. It is characteristic of him that the *Aeneid* ends, to be sure, with the defeat of the noble but violent Turnus by Aeneas, but that it ends with no vulgar display of triumph; the poet's last words are for the vanquished: *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*.⁹⁵

So, in brief outline, we have traced from Homer to Vergil the movement of thought on the great issues of war and peace; the heroism, the tragedy, the futility of war, the precariousness of peace, and its eternal worth as the goal of man's endeavor.

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⁹¹ *Georg.* I, 464-514.

⁹² *Ibid.*, II, 495-498, cited above, p. 515; 536-540.

⁹³ I, 1, 3, 10.

⁹⁴ *Aen.* VI, 851-853.

⁹⁵ *Aen.* XII, 952.

NOTES

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John L. Heller, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.]

ANCIENT GREECE AND MODERN FRANCE: WILL HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

Familiar objects assume startling aspects in a strange light, and established attitudes acquire new significance in a crisis. So it remained for the early tragedies of the war, with the attendant threat that French might become a "classical" language, to force reflections which in turn revealed to me the explanation of two affections which have underlain my academic life, but which I had never related to each other: a fervent and lasting appreciation of Greek, and an equally genuine and abiding sympathy for French. These were emotional states and satisfactions which I had never analyzed. Then France as a sovereign political state was defeated, and, after the first shock, her friends began to declare, then desperately to reiterate: "France will never die." Now let me say parenthetically that I do honestly believe that to be true; but, since I am a realist, I found myself thinking: "Certainly the ancient Greeks said the same thing, and surely their disciples shared their faith. It must have been inconceivable that the citadel which had sheltered the highest cultural conceptions for generations could permanently disintegrate."

Then, since we are prone to view even world events through the lenses of personal interests, the disquieting thought occurred: Without the position of France as a major political force, the reasons for learning French are exactly the same as those for studying Greek. Hence came the realization of the similarity of the Greek and French genius. This thought has now reached the dangerous proportions of a pet idea, and I must resist the temptation of forcing it. Therefore, while freely admitting possible fallacies and incompleteness in my assertions, I nonetheless believe in the valid-

ity of my claims, and shall call attention to three analogies between Greek and French civilizations: their universality, the perfection of their medium of expression, and their vulnerability.

Neither culture is nationalistic. The Periclean Greek attitude was neither oriental nor occidental; it was humanistic. And when, centuries later, the world, groping its way out of medievalism, rediscovered Greek civilization, it did not find antiquity or classicism; it found a universal philosophy which revealed man, any man, to himself. Similarly, French culture has few recognizable nationalistic traits. There is no distinctive French music, dance, painting, dress, or cooking, although French supremacy is generally acknowledged in all these fields. Other nationalities, however delightful, remain foreign. One may like bagpipes or tamales, but they are alien.

If one may judge from twenty years devoted to teaching it, the only phase of French culture not immediately assimilable is its language; and yet nothing better rewards the effort or better corrects our tendencies to linguistic slovenliness than the study of French—except perhaps the study of Greek. My greatest surprise after my first contact with the Greek language was its modern flavor: with all its classical formalism it seemed fluent and flexible. French, with all its fluid flexibility, has achieved a classical restraint. In fact, it is interesting to reflect that these two civilizations, founded on freedom and individualism, nevertheless subjected their art and their expression to a rigorous discipline which resulted in near perfection. French has no artificial conceits of word order, no irritating capriciousness, no decadent overemphasis, no embellishments, no meaningless suffixes, diminutives, and superlatives. Like Greek, it is characterized by directness, economy, discipline. These resemblances explain the fact that only in French do Greek tragic themes find a natural habitat. Scholars have exhausted themselves trying to determine whether the works of the French classicists are Greek or seventeenth-century French in spirit; but the fact is indisputable that in their French form and without any reference to their origin they are powerful and convincing dramas. Racine's *Andromaque* is as valid as Euripides'.

If the universality and perfection of French culture inspire

sympathy and admiration, its vulnerability may well arouse pity and terror. Two civilizations, alike spiritual, intellectual, individualistic, were destroyed by contact with ruthless force. Greece, having no defender, remained submerged while men struggled through iron ages and dark ages, until its spirit, interpreted largely by France, again radiated among nations. Three times in seventy years France has suffered invasion and near destruction by violence, and in a laissez-faire world a fate comparable to that of Greece is inevitable. France was soft, as the United States was soft, having applied its energies to constructive pursuits. Its peculiar talents are impotent against brute force. Transformation into a materialistic society competent to resist attack must destroy its spiritual contributions as surely as attack itself.

As to the solution, I am no Daniel come to judgment, and I do not seriously expect anyone to ask my opinion about reconstruction. But we must play the game of democracy according to the rules, and it is the present duty of free citizens to formulate the principles if not the details of postwar reorganization. So I suggest that we are not willing this time to wait a thousand years for truth crushed to earth to rise again. It appears necessary and desirable to protect a civilization making a unique and valuable contribution, when, by its peculiar nature, it cannot protect itself. Just as in a university, even though the majority must mass on active fronts, the departments representing the humanities should be fostered in order to provide a suitable milieu for the propagation of poets, philosophers, and prophets, so in the reorganized world, along with political readjustments and economic stabilization, guarantees of the integrity of aesthetic civilizations should be included, so that the benefits of the culture of the spirit may be safe for the simple persons of the world.

This is De Vigny's thesis in defense of the poet, when, in answer to the scathing question of the practical man, "What good is a poet?" he makes the misunderstood and persecuted Chatterton reply, "He reads in the stars the route which the finger of the Lord reveals."

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AN ANCIENT AND A MODERN THROWING CARNIVAL

In the *Saturday Evening Post* of February 26, 1944, 74, under the title "Carnaval Throws Arequipa," Carroll Van Ark thus describes the two-day battle between the sexes which brings to a close the annual February *carnaval* of the Peruvian city: "Armed with one or another sort of throwable material [e.g., sealed eggshells filled with water, sawdust balls, flour, and water], the boys prowls the town hunting such girls as are brave enough to show their faces." Exhaustion is the most serious effect mentioned.

St. Augustine (*De Doctr. Christ.* iv, 24) describes a Mauretanian throwing carnival of his own day involving more dangerous missiles:

Neque enim cives tantummodo, verum etiam propinqui, fratres, postremo parentes ac filii lapidibus inter se in duas partes divisi, per aliquot dies continuos certo tempore anni sollemniter dimicabant, et quisque ut quemque poterat occidebat.

Fortunately the Bishop of Hippo successfully used *grandis dictio* to effect the elimination of the affair.

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CICERO AND THE ROMAN PIETAS

As early as 86 B.C. Cicero wrote: (*Appellanti*) *pietatem quae erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine coniunctos officium conservare moneat*.¹

The Roman virtue *pietas* was so deeply imbedded in his own philosophy of life that the duties it entailed could not escape him, and his personal convictions established them in a hierarchical working order, namely: *pietas erga patriam*; *pietas erga parentes*. The consistent manner in which he treated his friends would justify, I believe, a third classification: *pietas erga amicos*. However, because of his reactions in the political and private crises in which he became involved, there are those who will not consider Cicero

¹ Cicero, *De Invent.* II, 66.

an exponent of *pietas*. People who do not understand him minimize, or will not recognize, his steadfast devotion to Rome. He is accused of inconsistency in his struggle to save the Republic, and of moral weakness in his forensic career. Historians have judged him severely. As Boissier says, Cicero

pays the penalty of his moderation On all sides he is laughed at or insulted. The fanatical partisans of Brutus accuse him of timidity, the warmest friends of Caesar call him a fool. . . . Drumann especially overlooks nothing. . . . He has laid bare all his correspondence in a spirit of conscientious malevolence. . . . Mommsen is scarcely more gentle, he is only less long. . . . In two of those compact pages full of facts, such as he knows how to write, he has found means to heap on Cicero more insults than Drumann's whole volume contains.²

The severity of this criticism gives rise to the following problem: Was Cicero an advocate of *pietas* and did he possess this virtue? Was he loyal to his country in spite of his vacillation?

Examining Cicero's attitude, we find that regard for the virtue of *pietas* consistently influenced his behavior, not only within the more restricted family circle, but also in his relations with his friends, the place of his birth, and the fatherland.

Cicero's private life is one of devotion to his family. In proof of this we need only to recall his devotion to his daughter, the careful instruction of his son and of his nephew, and his reaction to his brother's treachery. He always looked back with distress at the divorce proceedings of 47 B.C. He suffered so keenly over the whole affair that when Atticus would have him attend to some particulars, he cried, "Those are the very wounds I cannot touch without deep groans."³ He begs Atticus to give Terentia the advantage in any difficulty, and writes:

As regards your letter to Tiro about Terentia, I beg you, Atticus, to undertake the whole matter. You see there is a question of my duty concerned, and you know all about that: besides, some think there is my son's interest. With me it is the first point that weighs most, as being the more sacred and the more important: especially as I don't think she is either sincere or reliable about the second.⁴

² Boissier, G., *Cicero and His Friends* (tr. A. D. Jones, New York, 2nd ed., 1903), 22 f.

³ Cicero, *Ad Att.* XII, 22, 1. All translations quoted in the text above are from the "Loeb Classical Library." ⁴ *Ad Att.* XII, 19, 3.

And, not content with this, he says, "Duty must be my first consideration. If I have made a mistake, I would rather have to repent for her sake than for my own."⁵ In giving Terentia every advantage in the legal separation, Cicero is still accomplishing the *officium* of friendship, sacred in his eyes.

Cicero recognized the binding force of duty toward a friend⁶ even when it led to unwelcome action toward himself. Thus he excused Metellus' attack on him because it was prompted by *pietas* for his brother. He writes, "Not only do I excuse your resentment, but I even pay it the tribute of my highest commendation; for my own feeling prevents my forgetting the power of brotherly love."⁷ In the same letter he says:

In the first place I should like you to believe that I warmly approve that feeling of yours, that brotherly affection so full of human kindness and affection; in the second place, if in any respect I have opposed your brother for the sake of the state, I beg you to forgive me; for I am as great a friend of the state as the greatest friend she has. If, however, I have but defended my personal safety against his most merciless attack upon me, you must rest content that I make no complaint to you either of your brother's injustice to me.⁸

Appius Claudius' joining in with Antony is condoned because gratitude for his father's restoration prompted it. He begs Brutus because of their mutual friendship to reinstate Appius Claudius:

It will be a great feather in your cap that a youth of the highest birth should owe his restoration to your kindness. His case ought to be all the stronger, because it was a son's gratitude for his father's restoration that induced him to throw in his lot with Antony.⁹

The prologue to the *De Legibus* reveals his great love for Arpinum, his native place, and the *Pro Domo Sua* shows his attachment to his home on the Palatine. A person acting thus consistently in early, middle, and late life, must have possessed the virtue of *pietas*.

The defense of such notorious characters as Gabinius and Vatinius might not seem important, nor especially pertinent to the subject of *pietas*, but because it meant so much to Cicero, this case can hardly be overlooked. A charge of political and moral

⁵ *Ad Att.* xii, 21, 3.

⁶ *Pro Cluentio* 117.

⁷ *Ad Fam.* v, 2, 10.

⁸ *Ad Fam.* v, 2, 6.

⁹ *Ad Fam.* xi, 22, 1.

weakness is brought against him for having bowed to both Pompey and Caesar in this defense. Those who hasten to condemn Cicero forget that only *pietas* could obtain such submission. Cicero had many things to consider: *pietas erga alios coniunctos* urged him to remember his brother's pledge for his (Cicero's) good behavior to Pompey, and Pompey had pledged him to Caesar. *Pietas erga amicos* reminded him that he was indebted to Pompey more than to anyone else for his recall. Caesar and Pompey were too much for him. He finds his life degrading, yet he justifies his action. He must not alienate Caesar, and this course is for the good of the commonwealth. Cicero would endure such infamy even if Caesar were his most bitter enemy,¹⁰ for he hoped against hope, that, serving thus, he would preserve the state. "I do not pretend to penetrate into anyone's intentions in the future," he says, "but, I do know what I hope."¹¹ Underlying all these doubts, these hopes, these fears, is that principle: *pietas erga patriam*, the principle of principles for a Roman.

In a long letter to Lentulus he gives a labored defense of his conduct:

. . . I really did not think I had any reason to dread very much the imputation of inconsistency if in the expression of some of my opinions I made a slight change in my political attitude, and contributed my moral support to the advancement of a most illustrious man who had laid me under the deepest obligations.

In this determination, I was obliged, as you must see, to include Caesar, the policy and position of the two men being so intimately connected. Here I attached great weight as well to the long-standing friendship, which, as you yourself are aware, my brother Quintus and I had with Caesar. . . . I was profoundly influenced too by the interests of the state. . . .

But what impelled me most strongly to come to this decision was Pompey's having pledged his word for me to Caesar, and my brother's having pledged his to Pompey.¹²

Every Roman recognized differences in the bonds which link one to one's kindred, friends, and country;¹³ but the noblest, the closest, and the dearest bond was the one that bound him to his country. After having surveyed the whole field of social relations Cicero says:

¹⁰ *De Prov. Cons.* 30.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹² *Ad Fam.* I, 9, 11f.

¹³ *De Off.* I, 53.

Parents are dear; dear are children, relatives, friends; but one native land embraces all our loves; and who that is true would hesitate to give his life for her, if by his death he could render her a service? So much the more execrable are those monsters who have torn their fatherland to pieces with every form of outrage and who are, and have been, engaged in compassing her utter destruction.¹⁴

Fortune and life belonged to the state. His love for it was so great that he could write:

That fatherland must stand first in our affection in which the name of republic signifies the common citizenship of all of us. For her it is our duty to die, to her to give ourselves entirely, to place on her altar, and, as it were, to dedicate to her service, all that we possess.¹⁵

We find *pietas* in Cicero's whole career. It was dedicated to the state. His greatest speeches are for the state, and his philosophical writings, the *De Officiis*, the *De Oratore*, and the *De Republica* are concerned with the state. Man's life in society was the ultimate for Cicero: this was his philosophy of life.

A Roman's moral obligations were due, first, to his country, then to his parents; hence betrayal of country or desertion of parents was a great wrong. Cicero's concept of *pietas* embraced these truths, and he defended these Roman precepts. *Parricide* is the term he employs to describe Caesar's action against the fatherland. He wants to get away and he tells Atticus, "Even in an open boat, if I cannot get a vessel, I will tear myself away from these parricides and their doings."¹⁶

His first and greatest love was Rome, and he carried on an unwearyed struggle in her behalf; yet the combined, or conflicting interests of country and friends made him write thus to Atticus, "It is consideration of my duty that tortures me and has been torturing me all along."¹⁷ It was this supreme love of country which triumphed in the Caesar-Pompey episode. Cicero asserts again and again that nothing is dearer to him than the state,¹⁸ not even life. In a letter to Manius Curius he confesses "at that time I was mourning the loss of the Republic, which, owing to her services to me as well as mine to her, was dearer to me than life itself."¹⁹

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 57.

¹⁵ *De Leg.* II, 5.

¹⁶ *Ad Att.* x, 10, 5.

¹⁷ *Ad Att.* VIII, 15, 2.

¹⁸ *Ad Fam.* II, 15, 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, 28, 3.

He is sorely tried, for the questionable political stand adopted by Caesar and Pompey compels him to abandon neutrality. He loves the fatherland,²⁰ yet gratitude and friendship are powerful factors in this issue between Caesar and Pompey. He speaks thus to Caelius: "The political outlook causes me great anxiety. There's Curio—I am favorably disposed towards him; Caesar—I sincerely wish him all honor. Pompey—I could shed my life-blood for him."²¹ Although he feels equal to dying for Pompey, nothing is dearer to him than the Republic, for, he continues, "But when all is said and done, nothing in the world is more precious to me than the Republic herself."²¹ Love of country outweighs every other consideration, although he admits that personal attachment comes closer to the heart. Writing to Plancus from Rome, in the middle of December, 44 B.C., he says:

It gave me a double satisfaction, which made it difficult for me to decide upon comparison, whether I should attach the greater value to your affection for me, or to your feelings towards the Republic. Speaking generally, in my judgment, the love of one's country is paramount, but personal love and community of aspirations certainly carry with them a greater charm.²²

And he continues to the same, "There is nothing that can bring you greater material advantage or greater glory, as there is nothing in all human affairs more brilliant or more excellent than to deserve well of the Republic."²³ Cicero follows Pompey. He could not bear the charge of ingratitude. His fidelity to Pompey, however, is accompanied by the hope that there is a remote chance of saving the Republic. Caesar's cause is utterly bad, and his actions spell ruin for the state. Had Cicero not cherished the hope, however faint we might wish to believe it, that in Pompey's cause there was salvation, not even Pompey could have claimed him in the name of gratitude.

Cicero is charged with inconsistency because of his stand after Pharsalus. The fact that he was reconciled with Caesar shows that his chief concern was the welfare of the state. Continuing the fight meant utter ruin for the Republic. In the latter half of August, 47 B.C., he writes to Cassius from Brundisium:

²⁰ *Ad Att.* ix, 6, 2.

²¹ *Ad Fam.* ii, 15, 3.

²² *Ibid.*, x, 5, 1.

²³ *Ad Fam.* x, 5, 2.

Although both of us in our hope of peace and loathing for civil bloodshed wished to have nothing to do with the obstinate prosecution of war, still, since I seem to have taken the lead in that policy, I am perhaps more bound to justify it to you, than to expect such justification from you. . . . We thought it right and proper that, if not the whole quarrel, at any rate our judgment of it, should be determined by the issue of a single battle. And not a soul has ever rightly found fault with this opinion of ours, except those who think it better that the commonwealth should be utterly destroyed than survive in an impaired and enfeebled condition. I, on the contrary, pictured to myself no hope of course in its destruction, much in any remnants that were left.²⁴

If at times he was distressed and wished that he had gone, after Pharsalus, with the many "patriots" who had continued the struggle in Africa,²⁵ he stoutly defended his course, rather than theirs,²⁶ for he is still clinging to the slender hope that the Republic will live again . . . through Caesar! . . . perhaps.

Thus, during forty years of rapidly shifting party alignments, Cicero kept his eyes fixed upon one high, ultimate goal: the welfare of the Republic. The politics of his time were certainly made complex by many elements which escape our notice today. Against that complex background of varying lights and shades, only this quality of *pietas* can with truth illumine and bring into relief Cicero as man, patriot, and friend.

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²⁴ *Ibid.*, xv, 15, 1.

²⁵ *Ad Att.* xi, 7, 3.

²⁶ *Ad Fam.* xv, 15, 1.

BOOK REVIEWS

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

ROBINSON, DAVID M., *Excavations at Olynthus, Part x: Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds*, "The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology," No. 31: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1941). Pp. xxvii + 593; 172 plates. \$20.

This book comprises nine chapters, each containing from three to twenty-four subdivisions. I give the titles of the chapters, and under each title some of the more notable topics in that chapter. I, "Statuettes and Reliefs": the earliest known female herms; two small bronze reliefs, excellent, possibly from the breastplate of a horse; twelve bronze palmettes of divers types. II, "Jewelry and Personal Ornaments": 134 bronze beads of six types, 64 bracelets of six types, 67 earrings of seven types, 74 fibulas of thirteen types, 59 finger-rings, one wreath found in place around the skull of a skeleton. III, "Toilet Articles and Implements": ten mirrors, including one with a head of Athena in relief; 53 strigils, most of them bronze but some iron. IV, "Household Furnishing": a well-preserved brazier, buried below the ancient floor; bowls and dishes, craters, ladles, four bronze lamps, 336 handles. V, "Structural Material": a notable door knocker in the form of a lion's head holding a ring; hinges, nails, clamps. VI, "Tools and Miscellaneous Implements": axes, hammers, hoes, probes, spatulas, tweezers, needles, about a hundred fish-hooks; "the weapons and implements for cutting and thrusting which have been found at Olynthus are all made of iron." VII, "Arms and Armor": 246 arrowheads of many types, 36 spearheads (the former mostly bronze, the latter

mostly iron); about 500 lead sling-bullets, some labeled; of these Philip's bullets were heavier than those used by the Chalcidians. VIII, "Weights": many inscribed, striking irregularity in weight. IX, "Miscellaneous": seven horse-bits, an Athenian dicast's ticket, iron door-keys.

In general the objects are fully Greek, though in some categories there are indications of Macedonian or Thracian influence. Altogether 2683 items are catalogued. They are not only described but fully discussed with extensive references to comparative material both published and unpublished and to previous discussions. For the study of Greek antiquities this is a volume of the first importance, particularly because such objects as it contains are often neglected and those from many excavations are never published at all. In choosing for excavation a site that proved to be so bountiful in products of the best Greek period, Professor Robinson was both acute and fortunate; and his extraordinary erudition and energy (not to mention his financial resources) have made possible the unprecedentedly prompt publication of a series of sumptuous volumes in which the results of the excavation have been made available to the world of scholars.

F. P. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

ATHENAEUS, *The Deipnosophists*, with an English Translation by Charles Burton Gulick, Vol. VII, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1941). Pp. xii+581. \$2.50.

With this volume the Loeb Athenaeus is complete. In it, as in its predecessors, there is little at which to cavil, and much to praise. The project has occupied Professor Gulick for twenty-five years and has required a rare combination of exact scholarship and literary taste. It was a stupendous task and has been grandly performed.

HARRY M. HUBBELL

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DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, *The Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I, Tr. Earnest Carey: Cambridge, Harvard University Press, "Loeb Classical Library" (1937). Pp. XLVIII+553.

Vol. II: Cambridge, Harvard University Press "Loeb Classical Library" (1939). Pp. 532. \$2.50 each.

The Introduction touches briefly, but adequately, on the following points: "Life of Dionysius," "The Roman Antiquities," "*Scripta Rhetorica*," "Manuscripts," "Editions," "Translations." In addition, Vol. I contains the text and translation of Books I and II, Vol. II contains Books III and IV, while the remaining books and fragments will appear in five subsequent volumes. The fragments have never been done into English before.

The text is based on that of Jacoby (Leipzig, Teubner, 1885-1905). The major deviations from this text—and their number is fairly large—are indicated in the critical apparatus. Unfortunately, the editor did not make fresh collations of the MSS. Nevertheless, Mr. Cary has given more attention to textual matters than we find in the general run of Loeb editions.

The translation, while based on that of Edward Spelman (London, 1758), is something more than a mere revision of it. Spelman's translation was very uneven, being at times very good and at times rather bad. With fine discernment Mr. Cary has kept the good and improved the bad. The present reviewer has but one general criticism of the translation: foreign words, transliterations, and emphasis are all indicated by italics. This practice should be abandoned.

The notes are entirely new, but the general reader would doubtless welcome more of them.

ALFRED P. DORJAEN

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Scholia Platonica: Edited and Annotated by W. C. Greene; American Philological Association, Monograph VIII (1939). Pp. xlii+569. \$4.00.

It is, at this point in history, a special pleasure to review a work such as this, the product of that co-operative scholarship which

knows no national boundaries. Apart from the use made of the earlier works of Hermann, Cohn, Wolf, and others, this collection was conceived and begun by F. D. Allen at Harvard in 1891. The work was passed on to T. W. Allen and John Burnet in England, collations of different manuscripts made by them, and their results returned to Harvard in the hands of C. P. Parker. Finally, in 1935, Professor Greene undertook the heavy task of completing, editing, and annotating the collection, and to him we owe the present volume, with its excellent Introduction, Notes, and Indices. That such a collection, compiled and edited with such care and scholarship, fills a very definite need, goes without saying. It makes available to Platonic scholars, in convenient and readable form, material of which a good deal was often almost inaccessible. The sources of the scholia, the different hands in different manuscripts, are clearly distinguished; full use is made of recent researches, such as those of L. A. Post, and the whole work will prove quite invaluable.

It is, of course, not perfect or perfectly complete. It lists only scholia that pre-date the tenth century or are clearly derived from earlier sources. One might want more; one might note a certain number of misprints, omissions, and other blemishes, and the listing of such very minor defects is a useful task for both the author and students; but as this would require the careful collation of thousands of entries and their original sources, the present reviewer would feel very inadequately qualified for it. Fortunately, that task has already been both ably and sympathetically performed by W. A. Oldfather and need not be repeated. To his discussion of this work (*Classical Philology*, October, 1941) the specialist student is here referred. That discussion adds something to, but does not detract from, the value of this book, nor was it intended to.

Let me rather emphasize here that it would be a great pity if the use of this book were restricted to the comparatively few specialists in the minutiae of the Platonic texts and manuscripts. To the ordinary reader and student of Plato the scholia have too long been mysterious writings lost in the dark corners of libraries among musty folios, from which partial quotations disconcert-

ingly appear here and there in the editions that he uses. Here is the remedy for that unfortunate situation. Familiarity with the scholiasts will give the reader of Plato, in the first place, a sense of continuity and fellowship with students of long ago, which should make even more alive the texts over which he ponders, while at the same time the standard of scholarship of the scholiasts is certainly not such as to inhibit him from making his own contribution in turn!

A non-specialist student will find this apparently arid collection both useful and interesting, even fascinating at times, but he must not approach it with exaggerated hopes. He will not find here any long-buried solutions to major philosophical cruces: the exact meaning of the line or the number in the *Republic*, for example, or the receptacle of the *Timaeus*, and the rest. Such key problems are not solved here, indeed they are hardly touched. What he will find is a large number of haphazard notes by many ancient hands, unequal in quality and erratic in volume. He will also note, with malicious amusement, that ancient and modern commentators often share the same vices. There are scholia of incredible obviousness, such as those that tell us that Lacedemon, also named Sparta, is a city in the Peloponnesus (p. 174), that Medea came from Colchis with Jason and advised the boiling of Pelias (p. 122), or that the Piraeus is a harbor near Athens, in Attica (p. 187). These can be paralleled from modern commentators, and should not too confidently be attributed to the ignorance of the scholiasts' audience. Then there are the irrelevant displays of erudition for its own sake which unnecessarily clutter up the text, such as that superbly irrelevant and elaborate scholion (pp. 79-80) which gives us at length the names of all the Sibyls. Finally, certain philosophical passages are inevitably explained in terms of later premises and terminologies—Aristotelian, Neo-Platonic, and the rest—a confusing habit which started with Aristotle and is still going merrily on.

If such reflections on the perennial foibles of commentators may be of benefit to future editors, there are, of course, far more solid benefits to be gathered from this collection. Above all, the scholia should help us considerably to acquire the "feel" of Greek words

and phrases. It is ever a difficult if delightful task to attempt to recover the living associations and background of even the most common Greek words—especially of those perhaps. Here the scholiasts are directly useful, whether they quote the lexicographers direct, quote other authors, or tell us stories about words that are at times surprisingly elaborate, such as the delicious tale about the origin of the expression “sardonic” laughter (pp. 192–194). Their mythological explanations and fancy etymologies are sometimes probable, often far-fetched, frequently amusing, but they all contribute to our more intimate knowledge of Greek, even when they only tell us what the Greeks thought certain words *ought* to mean.

Then there are the proverbs and their alleged origins, for example the repeated note on χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ (first on p. 16), or that on ἀφ’ ἐστίας ἀρχεσθαι (p. 17), on μὴ κινεῖν εὖ κείμενον (p. 50), on κολοφῶνα ἐπιτίθημι (p. 20), to take only a few at random from a few pages. Comparisons with modern proverbs leap to the mind, but I doubt if we could invent stories half as crisp and expressive to explain them.

There are, of course, some scholia of definite interpretative and explanatory value, which pay special attention to the structure of the dialogue and the consecutive steps in the argument. This is especially true of those on the *Theaetetus*, the *Gorgias*, the third, sixth, and eighth books of the *Republic*, the first few pages of the *Timaeus*, and the first book of the *Laws*. Here we get from the scholiasts what we would expect in the first instance from a modern editor. At these times the scholia mostly follow one particular commentator, often Proclus. And it is in this connection that the editor’s notes and apparatus criticus—for the scholia are carefully annotated throughout—are particularly helpful. Indeed they are often very necessary, for the scholia are sometimes very inadequate and obscure synopses of something really good that can still be found elsewhere. On p. 92, for instance, the scholion on τῶν ἐρωτήσεων is unintelligible to me without the text from Proclus quoted in the note. By sparing quotation but lavish references the editor has made sure that we are now in a position to find those good things without difficulty in the fuller commentaries that are still extant in full or in part. For these commentaries have received

far too little attention from any but specialists. This is true even of Proclus, and if, as I hope, this collection is freely used by all students of Plato, it should lead them on to consult these commentaries more frequently, to their profit and enlightenment. It has already done so for me, and I am grateful for it.

Some may be disappointed at not finding here the key to hoary textual puzzles, where uncertain texts lead to important differences of interpretation. But it is unreasonable to expect this, since, if the answer were here, the puzzles would obviously have disappeared long ago. Nevertheless, there are a large number of variant readings noted, and some on points of interest, so that more general study of material now available to all may yet bring some light in dark corners.

There is something very solemn about these scholiasts; they can be very foolish, and at times very wrong. The editor has not considered it his duty to put us right, though the temptation must at times have been hard to resist. Thus there is a certain austere restraint about the notes that in this case is wholly admirable. Professor Greene has opened up the country for us; it is up to us to avoid the pitfalls and not to get lost in some of the more arid byways. Besides, where really needed, help is available elsewhere. This work should be kept open on the desk when reading Plato and referred to as a matter of course. So used, it will enrich the study of Plato for all serious students.

Special mention should be made of the Indices, particularly that on Greek words, which covers 72 double-column pages. This will make cross reference a pleasure instead of the torture it so often is. It fittingly closes what is and will remain a most useful collection, not only, let me insist on this again, for the specialists.

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G. M. A. GRUBE

DOHAN, EDITH HALL, *Italic Tomb-Groups in the University Museum: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press (1942). Pp. xii+113. Plates LV.*

The contents of twenty-nine graves excavated at Narce, Vulci, and Pitigliano in 1895 and 1896, and secured for the University

Museum of Philadelphia by Professor Arthur L. Frothingham, are described and catalogued in the present volume. In spite of the fact that the graves were not excavated by archaeologists, the integrity of the tomb-groups has been carefully safeguarded, and on the basis of notes, old photographs, plans etc., the tomb-groups are established and described as such and in chronological sequence.

The graves were of two main varieties: well-tombs with a small loculus for the offerings, and trench tombs with loculi of various sizes. The first were used for cremated remains, the second for inhumation in the main. Their contents include vases and objects of metal used as ornaments and armor. Objects from the same grave are described together and they are compared with similar objects found elsewhere. This comparison enables the author to divide the graves and their contents into three chronological groups. The earlier group seems to be contemporary with the "Warriors' Tomb" at Tarquinii, whose date is placed *ca.* 680 B.C. The second group is placed at *ca.* 670 B.C., and the third group, on the basis of Late Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, and Proto-Attic imports and influence, to a still later period ending *ca.* 650 B.C.

In discussing the chronology of the vases at Philadelphia, the author finds it possible to examine the evidence on which rests the dating of the "Warriors' Tomb" and of the Bocchoris grave, and to place them at *ca.* 680 B.C. and *ca.* 670 B.C., respectively. Scholars will be indebted to Dr. Dohan not only for placing the material at their disposal but also for her efforts to do it in such an exemplary fashion. As a catalogue of museum pieces, her work forms an excellent model to be followed with profit. The plates are of good quality, the arrangement of the material excellent, and the descriptions concise and accurate.

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HINTS FOR TEACHERS

[Edited by Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of classics, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

An Art Quiz for Students of the Classics

Lois Ashton presented with copies of her "Art Quiz for Students of the Classics" all who were present at the thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in Chicago, April, 1943. We describe this quiz as a delightful classical memento as well as for the value of the quiz itself. Miss Ashton writes, "I worked out the Art Quiz over a period of years with the co-operation of various students." The Quiz was prepared as an attractive booklet ($4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$), a blue stencil of a Greek vase decorating the white paper cover, which was tied with white ribbon. The twelve pages (three folded sheets) contained the following in mimeographed form:

Title Page: AN ART QUIZ FOR STUDENTS OF THE CLASSICS

I. Unscramble: (Parts I and II are on page 1.)

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Hermes Parthenos | 4. Diana of Samothrace |
| 2. Victory of Versailles | 5. Venus of Praxiteles |
| 3. Athena of Melos | |

II. Who of these was not a sculptor?

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Bernini | 4. Grant Wood |
| 2. Praxiteles | 5. Phidias |
| 3. Rodin | 6. Milles |

III. (Parts III, IV, V are on page 2.)

1. Who painted the "Birth of Venus," which we saw in the 1939 Italian Exhibition?
2. What legend does it portray?

IV. To what city would you go to see "Laocoon and his Sons"?

V. What is the common interest to the art world of the following places?

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Pompeii | 4. Ostia |
| 2. Rome | 5. Herculaneum |
| 3. Persepolis | |

VI. True or False: (Page 3.)

- ____ 1. In a "Iudicium Paridis" one would always expect to see four characters: Paris, Venus, Juno, and Minerva.
- ____ 2. The word pyramid is derived from "Pyramus" of Babylon.
- ____ 3. The caryatids of the Museum of Science and Industry are copied from those of the Erechtheum.
- ____ 4. The Elks' memorial in Lincoln Park is similar to the Pantheon.
- ____ 5. Soldiers' Field and similar stadia are a type of structure unknown in the ancient world.

VII. (Parts VII, VIII, and IX are on page 4.) Delphi, with its sanctuary of the fair god, _____, was a most sacred and venerable shrine.

VIII. In what cities are the following:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Louvre | 6. British Museum |
| 2. Vatican | 7. Museum of Fine Arts |
| 3. The Cloisters | 8. Art Institute |
| 4. Acropolis Museum | 9. Metropolitan |
| 5. National Gallery of Art | 10. Museo del Terme |

IX. The column of Trajan is in _____.

X. (Parts X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV are on page 5.) The Suovetaurilia represents three animals. They are

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

XI. There is a replica of the Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee. (True or False?)

XII. To what city would you go to see the great collection of Pompeian bronzes?

XIII. Which museum in Chicago has remains from the Villa Boscoreale in its Italian Archaeology collection?

XIV. What hill would you climb in order to visit the Parthenon?

XV. (Parts XV, XVI, XVII, are on page 6.) Where could you lunch or dine in Chicago and at the same time see Carl Milles' "Diana"?

XVI. A modernistic statue of Ceres stands on the _____ Building in Chicago.

XVII. In tribute to the marvelous majesty of a certain statue, the ancients said, "The god must have come from heaven to earth to show Phidias his face, or Phidias must have been transported to great Olympus to behold it." That was the statue of

1. _____ at 2. _____

- XVIII. (Parts XVIII, XIX, XX are on page 7.) If you were to visit Rockefeller Center in New York City you would see large representations of two well-known mythological characters. They are:
 1. _____ 2. _____
- XIX. The largest fountain in the world is in Grant Park, Chicago. Its name is the _____ Fountain.
- XX. To what Roman building is the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D. C., similar?
- XXI. (Parts XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV are on page 8.) Which Burlington train derives its name from one of the winds?
- XXII. To which Greek prototype is the Lincoln memorial in Washington similar?
- XXIII. "In a replica of the Baths of Caracalla commuters catch the 5:15" . . . Latin Book II, page 14.
 In what city? _____ Which station?
- XXIV. What style of architecture is represented in the building on the new nickels?
- XXV. In the court of The Art Institute are fountain figures done by Carl Milles. They represent _____

ANSWERS¹

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| I. 1. Hermes of Praxiteles | 4. Diana of Versailles |
| 2. Victory of Samothrace | 5. Venus of Melos |
| 3. Athena Parthenos | |
| II. Grant Wood | |
| III. 1. Botticelli | |
| 2. Venus rose from the waves at Cythera. | |
| IV. Rome | |
| V. Remains of an earlier civilization | |
| VI. 1. True | 4. True |
| 2. False | 5. False |
| 3. True | |
| VII. Apollo | |
| VIII. 1. Paris | 6. London |
| 2. Rome | 7. Boston |
| 3. New York | 8. Chicago |
| 4. Athens | 9. New York |
| 5. Washington | 10. Rome |
| IX. Rome | |
| X. 1. Hog 2. Sheep 3. Bull | |
| XI. True | XIII. Field Museum |
| XII. Naples | XIV. Acropolis |

¹ Answers to parts I-VIII, inclusive, are on page 9; to parts IX-XXI are on page 10; to parts XXII-XXV are on page 11.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| XV. Diana Court Building,
540 N. Michigan Avenue. | XVIII. 1. Prometheus 2. Atlas |
| XVI. Board of Trade | XIX. Buckingham Fountain |
| XVII. 1. Zeus 2. Olympia | XX. Pantheon |
| XXII. Greek Temples in general, or the Parthenon. | XXI. Zephyr |
| XXIII. 1. New York | 2. Pennsylvania Station |
| XXIV. Classical | |
| XXV. Tritons | |

Score on the basis of ten points per question.

Perfect score is 250.

York Community High School
Elmhurst, Illinois

LOIS ASHTON

Recent Developments in the Field of Latin Tests and Measurements

There has not been much progress made in the construction and improvement of objective tests in Latin during the past ten years. Without doubt many teachers of Latin are constructing tests of their own to measure the various objectives of Latin instruction. Unfortunately, many teachers do not understand the technique of test-making as well as they think they do. The making of informal objective tests has become more or less the favorite "indoor sport" of many teachers. In an article of mine published several years ago, some suggestions were given in regard to the construction of tests for measuring the comprehension of Latin, and the knowledge of vocabulary, syntax, and forms.¹ In this article I tried to point out the fact that there is a decided difference in the technique of the construction of a test which measures recall knowledge and one which measures recognition knowledge of the elements of Latin.

No serious effort has yet been made to measure objectively the so-called ultimate objectives of Latin instruction since the time of the Classical Investigation. Many of the tests made at that time were rather crude measuring instruments, and practically all of them are now out of print. Some of the workbooks published in connection with first- and second-year Latin textbooks contain tests on Roman civilization, Latin derivatives, etc. In the last form of the Co-operative Latin Test there is a section on civilization.

¹ Mark E. Hutchinson, "Objectives in the Teaching of High-School Latin and the Measurement of their Attainment," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXXIV (1939), 271-282.

The Co-operative Ancient History Test should also be of interest to Latin teachers.² This field of the measurement of the ultimate objectives in Latin instruction is wide open to some ambitious and competent maker of foreign-language tests.

A very significant change has taken place in the examinations in Latin put out by the College Entrance Examination Board during the past two years. In an article of mine in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, February, 1936, I criticized rather sharply the Cp. 2 examination of June 1934, which "consisted of an adapted passage from Caesar's *Civil War*, which is to be translated into English, grammatical questions on twenty items involving declension of nouns, pronouns and adjectives, conjugation of verbs, principal parts of verbs, comparison of adjectives and adverbs, the explanation of tense, mood, and case uses, and finally the translation of four English sentences into Latin."³ For a number of years many of us have thought that an objective test on Latin comprehension, if skilfully made, would measure adequately the ability of the student to read and understand Latin. In this test of June 1934 the abilities of the students to translate Latin into English, to decline certain nouns and conjugate certain verbs, to explain in grammatical terminology the reason for the use of certain tenses, cases, and moods, and to translate English sentences into Latin were all measured, and many Latin teachers felt constrained to spend much of their time in activities which would prepare their students to pass such a test. At any rate, the present Latin tests given by the College Entrance Examination Board are decidedly different from the one described above. The test now is a Latin Reading Test lasting one hour. Reading tests are also given in French, German, and Spanish. All foreign-language students take the same test in their chosen language without respect to the number of years or units of study in the language. Some interesting data have developed from the giving of these tests: "An appreciable number of candidates with two years of study receive scores above the average of the three-year group, and a few even above the average of those with four

² Harold V. King and Geraldine Spaulding, *Co-operative Latin Test, Higher and Lower Levels*, Form S. Co-operative Test Service, New York City.

³ Mark E. Hutchinson, "The Reading Method—Is It Practicable in Latin," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXXI (1936), 290.

years' study. The average scores obtained on the tests of April 1942 by candidates who had two, three, and four years of study in secondary schools were,"⁴

YEARS OF STUDY	AVERAGE SCORE IN READING TEST			
	French	German	Latin	Spanish
2	454	471	469	462
3	539	543	505	530
4	621	651	581	663

The College Entrance Examination Board does not permit these tests to be examined. However, Dr. John M. Stalnaker, Associate Secretary of the Board, in a letter to me has described them as follows:

The reading test for Latin offered by the College Entrance Examination Board utilizes no unusual techniques. The test has consisted of a series of passages in Latin. Following each passage there are three types of questions, but all are objective and of the fixed response type. One type requires the candidate to select from several given translations the most accurate one for an underlined word or phrase in the passage. The translation selected must fit the context. The other types of questions concern the content of the passages. The questions in part are in Latin and in part English. In either case the effort has been made to devise items which demand an understanding of the passage. The examiners have attempted to avoid questions which can be answered by reference to a word or phrase in the passage.

I feel that this action by the College Entrance Examination Board will have a far-reaching effect not only on test making but also on the teaching of foreign languages in general. It would seem that the important thing to measure in foreign-language instruction is the comprehension of the language in question. This might be debatable in the field of the modern languages, which after all are spoken languages. Latin, however, is not spoken but is supposed to be read and understood. As I have said earlier in this article, the ultimate objectives in Latin instruction should not be lost sight of but they do not need to be measured in a final test of Latin attainment.

Some teachers might be interested in a brief list of tests which are available at the present time to measure (1) general achievement in Latin, (2) comprehension of Latin, (3) vocabulary, (4) forms, (5) syntax, (6) derivatives, (7) prognosis in Latin.

⁴ *College Entrance Examination Board News Bulletin*, September 1943, College Entrance Examination Board, 425 West 117th St., New York City, pp. 9f.

GENERAL ACHIEVEMENT

Co-operative Latin Test (Lower Level) Form S. (Co-operative Test Service, 15 Amsterdam Ave., New York).

This test has parts on comprehension, grammar, and civilization, and is for students in the first two years of high school or the first year of college study of Latin.

Co-operative Latin Test (Higher Level) Form S.

This test is for students with more than two years of Latin in high school or more than one year in college.

Co-operative Latin Test (Elementary Form, Revised Series) Forms O, Q, R.

This test has parts on reading, vocabulary, and grammar, and is for students in the first three semesters of high school or the first semester of college study of Latin.

Co-operative Latin Test (Advanced Form, Revised Series) Forms N, O, P, Q, R.

This test has parts on reading, vocabulary, and grammar, and is for students with four or more semesters of study in high-school Latin or at least a year in college.

New York Latin Achievement Test (World Book Company, Yonkers, New York).

This test measures for all-around achievement in first-year Latin.

Powers Diagnostic Latin Test (Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Illinois.)

COMPREHENSION

Hutchinson Latin Comprehension Test (Unpublished. Copies of this test can be obtained from the author, Mark E. Hutchinson, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa.)

Ullman-Kirby Latin Comprehension Test (Bureau of Educational Research, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.)

Iowa Every-Pupil Test in Latin Reading Comprehension (Extension Department, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.)

VOCABULARY

Harvard Tests, Latin Vocabulary (Ginn and Co., Boston, Mass.)

Stevenson Latin Vocabulary Test (Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Illinois.)

White Latin Test (World Book Company, Yonkers, New York.)

FORMS

Harvard Tests, Latin Morphology (Ginn and Company.)

Lohr-Latshaw Latin Form Test (Bureau of Educational Research, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.)

Tyler-Pressey Test in Latin Verb Forms (Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Illinois.)

SYNTAX

Godsey Diagnostic Latin-Composition Test (World Book Company, Yonkers, New York.)

Harvard Tests, Latin Syntax (Ginn and Co.)

Hutchinson Latin Grammar Scales (Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Illinois.)

Pressey Test in Latin Syntax (Public School Publishing Co.)

DERIVATIVES

Stevenson-Coxe Latin Derivative Test (Public School Publishing Co.)

PROGNOSIS

Foreign-Language Aptitude Test of the Iowa Placement Examinations (University of Iowa, Iowa City.)

Orleans-Solomon Latin Prognosis Test (World Book Company.)

Symonds Foreign-Language Prognosis Test (Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City.)

The verbal factor part of any good intelligence test provides an excellent prediction of a student's probable success in foreign languages. Several years ago Miss Catherine M. Haage, in an effort to measure functional knowledge of Latin, devised a series of tests on vocabulary, forms, speech feeling, and comprehension. These tests are very interesting in that they do not use formal grammatical nomenclature. Any teacher interested in teaching Latin functionally should examine these tests. I think that they are still obtainable from Miss Catherine M. Haage, St. Mary of the Woods College, St. Mary of the Woods, Indiana.

It would seem, then, that the most significant development in the field of measurement in Latin is the *Latin Reading Test* given by the College Entrance Examination Board. Otherwise the situation has not changed much in recent years. The Co-operative Test Service has been doing some experimentation with its tests, and its test on civilization is a step in the right direction. In my opinion, we need some good tests on the historical, cultural objectives of Latin instruction. There should also be more good tests on Latin comprehension. I have always maintained that there is a close correlation between the kind of tests we give our students and the kind of instruction they receive.

MARK E. HUTCHINSON

Cornell College

Mt. Vernon, Iowa

CURRENT EVENTS

[Edited by George E. Lane, Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; John N. Hough, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; Russell M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Kevin Guinagh, Eastern State Teachers' College, Charleston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth, and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of the latter date.]

Toronto Honors Norman W. DeWitt

Forty-four teachers and friends of the classics attended a dinner held by the Toronto Classical Club on March 18 to pay tribute to Professor Norman W. DeWitt in view of his prospective retirement at the end of the current academic year, his thirty-ninth year as a teacher of Greek and Latin, and his thirty-sixth as Professor of Latin Literature at Victoria College in the University of Toronto.

On behalf of the assembled company, Professor J. T. Muckle, of St. Michael's College, delivered the official eulogy, referring warmly to the guest-of-honor's *humanitas*, his scholarly accomplishments, and his exercise of the Horatian virtues. Richard B. Horwood, one of Professor DeWitt's former students, spoke for the teachers of Latin in the Toronto area. Mrs. Homer A. Thompson, president of the Toronto Classical Club, acted as Chairman.

"The Horse-Trading Phoenicians" was the subject of the paper read by Professor De Witt. His theme was that the influence of the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean, at one time exaggerated, at present minimized, needs reappraisal. He pointed out that shortly before the Homeric period, the Libyan horse and the war-chariot were introduced into Europe by Phoenician traders. This trade area extended all the way from the Troad through Greece into Italy, and included Rome. Professor DeWitt cited various examples of Phoenician influence in the early history of Rome—proof that the founding of Rome, or its occupation as a trading site, must have taken place several centuries earlier than commonly believed.

A diverting feature of the *convivium* was a poem written for the occasion in Catullan hendecasyllabics by Professor Gilbert Norwood, of University College. Since Professor Norwood, who is delivering the Sather Lectures at Berkeley, California, was not able to be present, the poem was read in his behalf by his colleague, Professor E. A. Dale.

SODALITATI CLASSICAE TORONTONENSI
S.P.D.

GILBERTUS NORWOOD
EXSUL SEMESTRIS

Salvete, o mihi classici sodales
dilecti, ac sinite hanc meam loquelam
qualemcumque epulas adire vestras,
ne totus patinis iocisque desim!

Res maior solito est agenda vobis,
cuius participem me habete, quaeso:
Normannus celebrandus est Devittus.
quidni? quis potius? nec ipse Varro
iudex callidior Latinitatis
nec Vitruvius aedis exstruendae.
at non haec satis: est enim Maronis
librorum criticus sagax minorum;
et quocumque Epicurus in recessu
hortorum latet, haud fugit Devittum.
porro qua gravitate, quo lepore,
istaec omnia promit expenditque,
scriptor perbonus optimusque doctor!

Salve, qui emeritus vocaris apte!
macte esto ingenioque moribusque
Romanis! licet abdices cathedram,
non donant rude te tui sodales.

Classical Association of New England

At the thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England, held at Deerfield Academy, Massachusetts, on March 17-18, the following officers were elected for 1944-45: president, Dr. George A. Land, Newton High School, Massachusetts; vice-president, Professor Josephine P. Bree, Albertus Magnus College, New Haven; secretary-treasurer, Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., Wesleyan University; additional members of the Executive Committee, Miss Doris S. Barnes, Nashua High School, New Hampshire; and Mr. John K. Colby, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts; representative on the Council of the American Classical League, Dr. George A. Land.

It was voted to hold the next annual meeting at Phillips Academy, Andover, on March 23-24, 1945.

From "Eye of the Hurricane," by Lucien Price, in the August (1943) *Atlantic Monthly*¹

"Abstract mathematics are prerequisite for military science; modern for-

¹ Both the *Atlantic Monthly* and Mr. Price have generously permitted the republication of this paragraph. Ed.

eign languages are necessary to us now as never before, since we must take our place at the world table; and the ancient tongues, Greek and Latin, together with history, literature, philosophy, and science are the thinking, speaking, and doing apparatus of civilized Western man. Yet there is a concerted attack on foreign languages, ancient and modern, on abstract mathematics, and on the teaching of history in our secondary schools from a formidable faction of educational theorists. (Taking advantage of public disaster to go after private loot is an offense punishable by shooting!) If our youth, either at home or abroad, lack the elder and deeper training, they will be ill-equipped to cope with the complicated human situations which lie before us. The term 'stock-pile' is not too felicitous. It connotes replacement parts in a machine. In the years ahead we shall need far higher forms of skill than mechanical ingenuity."

Connecticut—President Butterfield on Latin

It is a great satisfaction to learn that the biennial Connecticut State Latin Contest is to be held again this year. It is particularly gratifying that its sponsors are going ahead with it at a time when there is so much disposition educationally and otherwise to postpone or abolish all things which do not seem of immediate use. I should simply like to go on record as protesting this attitude in education and commending the sponsors for their faith and foresight. The decline of Latin and Greek in our schools is a matter of very great regret, and everything possible should be done to encourage their revival. There is no question in my own mind that the study of Latin and Greek at the high-school level gives the student a far greater sense of accuracy and far greater subtlety in handling the meanings of ideas than he otherwise would get. It also forces him to handle language with some degree of rigor. This is particularly important in this century, since there is in our education so much careless and confused thought. Such study also helps to give the student a sense of perspective about his own civilization, and a sense of humility. In all these respects, as well as in others, the study of these languages and cultures is very important, I should say even basic.

I sincerely hope that there will be a large competing group of high-school students in the contest, and that it will serve the further function of encouraging more and more students to start or continue with their studies in classical language and literature.

VICTOR L. BUTTERFIELD
President, Wesleyan University

March, 1944

North Carolina—Memorial of Shipp Gillespie Sanders

Professor Shipp Gillespie Sanders departed from this life on January 26, 1944 after an illness of several months. He had taught in the Summer Session of 1943 and thus completed exactly twenty years of service in the Department of Classics at the University of North Carolina.

Professor Sanders was born on May 21, 1888, in Georgetown, Texas, where his father was on the faculty of Southwestern University. He went to Webb

School at Bell Buckle, Tennessee, and here received the firm grounding in Greek and Latin which was to make of him a thorough and conscientious student in college and graduate work and later an excellent teacher of the classics. He entered Southwestern University in 1905 and won his A.B. degree with honors in 1909.

The headmaster of "Bell Buckle," the famed "Sawney" Webb—who was, incidentally, related to him—invited him to return to the school to teach Latin. Here he remained several years but he had never given up the idea of becoming a college professor, so in 1914 Sanders entered the Graduate College at Princeton and took work particularly under those great teachers, Frank Frost Abbott and "Livy" Westcott. In 1915 he received the degree of A.M. and in the fall resumed his program, which was to lead to the doctorate.

In the fall, he went to the University of Wisconsin as a Fellow in Classics. He was not destined to complete his requirements for the degree of Ph.D., for our entry into the World War I occurred while he was at Wisconsin, and in 1917 he enlisted as a private in a hospital unit.

He returned to this country in the spring of 1919 and that fall, at the invitation of Professor Fay, he went to the University of Texas as Instructor in Latin. He left Texas to accept the position as Professor of Classics at Central College, Fayette, Missouri. He was called to the University of North Carolina in 1923 to become Assistant Professor of Latin. His sound teaching soon won for him promotions, first as Associate Professor, and in 1939 he was given the rank of Professor of Classics. Though he taught Freshman Greek for a few years, his work was chiefly in Latin and his favorite course was Cicero's *Letters*. His success as a teacher—and this is well attested by students—was due to the thorough training which he received at preparatory school and through his work under such methodical and inspiring teachers as Abbott, Westcott, Showerman, and others.

In 1937 he was relieved of part of his teaching load that he might serve as an advisor in the General College (Freshmen and Sophomores). His sympathetic understanding of the students and his friendliness toward them caused him to be retained in this capacity, with a slight intermission, till his end.

In 1932 he married Miss Kate Graham, the sister of President Frank P. Graham, by whom he is survived. He was a member of the local Methodist Church, and a respected and popular member of the community. He belonged to the American Philological Association and to the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. His genial nature and friendliness won him many friends. His great interest was in teaching Latin and the best of Roman culture, and he was eminently successful in this, his life work. The University and the community have lost a sympathetic teacher, a friendly citizen, a Christian gentleman. The life and career of Shipp Gillespie Sanders may perhaps best be summed up by the words, *virtus et amicitia*.

J. PENROSE HARLAND

Chapel Hill, N. C.

April 5, 1944

NEWS LETTER NUMBER 28

JUNE, 1944

PRESENT STATUS OF CLASSICAL EDUCATION
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
DORRANCE S. WHITE, Editor

DEAR COLLEAGUES:

The spirit of the conference at St. Louis April 6-8 showed that teachers of Latin and Greek, while realists enough to recognize the encroachments of war upon their field and to admit lessened enrolments, are still healthily optimistic. Such is their confidence in Latin and Greek as instruments of education; and they are deeply conscious of the part that the classical languages and literatures have played in the history of civilization, of which, too, they are justly proud.

But pride is not enough. We who are soon to leave the stage should note the new generation of students who are coming on, a generation whose attention is engrossed in the interests of a great war, who have themselves taken part in drives for war bonds, food, and many like activities. This new generation of high-school and college folk have been exposed to educators who have groped blindly for the answer in education to the physical, mental, and spiritual needs of a democracy. This new generation is not being taught through history the rich heritages of the Greek and Roman civilizations, but is being pressed strongly to judge all life by the urgency of the present moment.

The part that the Latin language has played as a "communication art" will be unknown unless you and I publish it in vital places. We must put away modesty and diffidence and let the public, which is now lending so attentive an ear to the pleas of the vocationalists, know what the study of Latin and Greek can offer for the training of high-school and college youth in a world torn by war.

Language is the core of the curriculum, and Latin stands at the head of that core. Let us do our best to nullify the folly of educationists who ignore that fact.

NEWS ITEMS

Missouri—W. C. Korfmacher

The third Missouri Latin Week was held throughout the state, April 16-22, 1944. Jonah W. D. Skiles, as co-chairman of the state, ably assisted in making the activity a success. Other activities, indirectly connected with the Present Status work, were a joint language panel on "Foreign Languages for Global War and Global Peace" held at St. Louis on November 5, 1943, with Norman J. DeWitt, of Washington University, and W. C. Korfmacher, of Saint Louis University, representing the classical languages; the Washington University *News Letter*, edited by Prof. DeWitt; and talks and lectures by the state chairman on the Classics and Liberal Education.

Nebraska—Clarence A. Forbes

The chairman faces the humanities crisis in his state realistically. Outside the Catholic institutions, "the classics have practically ceased to exist in the higher education of Nebraska." At the University of Nebraska there is not a single course in Ancient History, but one in Latin, and one in Greek. Throughout the state, secondary schools are feeling the effect of the inroads made by the practical subjects. "Teacher-training institutions at the present time are unable to hold out the prospect of a sizable crop of freshly trained candidates. Hundreds of temporary emergency certificates have been issued to individuals whose qualifications for teaching are admittedly scanty. Secondary education in the state has declined considerably in both quantity and quality, and what has affected the whole has also affected a part, such as Latin."

However, the state continued to hold successful Latin Weeks, noted throughout the Middle West and South. The fourth Latin Week was held April 12-16. In Omaha, according to the chairman, "a timely idea was the distribution of a bookmark entitled "Latin Goes to War," containing many Latin mottoes of various branches of the armed services. At Fremont a simple but valuable scheme was worked out to have in the daily bulletin throughout Latin Week a question relating to Latin, with a prize of one war stamp for the first correct answer to be presented. It would appear from the chairman's report that if the public-school administrations of the state had been as lively in their interest in the humanities as were their own young Nebraskans, Latin study would have bumped against the stars!

Wisconsin—Esther Weightman

A Wisconsin *Latin Bulletin* was started in November, 1943, designed for state news, questions about teaching, suggestions about drill in the classroom, and anything else that tended to hold Latin teachers together as a group.

Latin Week is being held this spring in various communities, but not as a state-wide activity. The state university is trying to help the schools in the teacher shortage by offering Latin in extension courses. This year there are

slightly fewer teachers of Latin in the state but no fewer towns where it is being taught.

Iowa—Oscar Nybakken

The week of May 1-6 has been selected as Latin Week for the state. A letter, which included two sheets of suggestions for Latin Week, was sent to approximately 165 Latin teachers. Fully 98 per cent of those who replied are making special arrangements to celebrate Latin Week. The general conclusion to be drawn from the comments sent in by the teachers regarding the Latin situation in Iowa schools is that where good teaching is available the enrolment is holding up well, even occasionally increasing, and that under poor or make-shift teaching the subject is suffering. In one school where Latin, in a newly revised curriculum, is included as an elective with four other subjects, 50 per cent of the students registered for Latin. In another school, Latin will be dropped next year because, as was stated, the teacher shortage has compelled the school not to teach a course unless as many as sixteen enroll for it.

Tennessee—Nellie Angel Smith

Plans have been completed for resuming the annual Latin Tournament in April, 1944. Students participating will be those of Memphis and West Tennessee schools near enough to Memphis to justify the trip under war restrictions. Written examinations will be given covering the material taught in each year of high school, with awards to the winners.

Ernest C. Ball, superintendent of the Memphis city schools, has indorsed the tournament and among other things said of it (*Memphis Commercial Appeal*, Feb. 9, 1944):

Such a contest should stimulate the students materially. In this connection it is my opinion that the Latin teachers would do well to try to discover and review critically the causes of the decrease in the number of students studying Latin. The value of the study of Latin has been proved through the years, but present-day students may not have had this value impressed upon them sufficiently.

In connection with the proposed tournament, the director of education in the Memphis public schools, J. M. Smith, took occasion to refute the argument recently set forth by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, that the teaching of the ancient languages and literature should be limited to the very few who will derive some cultural value and who will use these languages in their scholarly pursuits. Mr. Smith is reported to have said (*Memphis Press-Scimitar*, Feb. 8, 1944):

I do not concur in the above recommendation. Neither do I believe that the excuse given for curtailing the instruction in these subjects is the real reason for the recommendation ("releasing the teachers of these subjects for 'educational service vital to the war effort' "). In my opinion it is just another attempt by "progressive educators"

to eliminate from the curriculum those subjects which are difficult and which require some real study, including home study, on the part of students. The attack on the subjects has been made before, but to use the "war effort" as an excuse borders on being unpatriotic.

The Army and Navy have consistently urged the schools to continue to give the students a broad and thorough educational background, with emphasis upon mathematics, science, and English. I know of no subject which *develops the knowledge of English better than does the study of Latin* (italics the editor's). If more of our students graduated from high school with a good foundation in the above subjects, upon which the Army and Navy could build, I am certain that the Latin teachers could feel confident that their contribution to the educational services were vital to the war effort.¹

Michigan—James E. Dunlap

An important communication has come to the editor from Miss Eunice Kraft, Girls' Advisor at the Western State High School, Kalamazoo. Miss Kraft, noting the attitude of the Associate Secretary of the National Education Association toward the study of Latin, sent word to the Association that she would like to withdraw her subscription and gave her reasons for doing so. She then received a letter from the Executive Secretary, Willard E. Givens, in which Mr. Givens quotes from an article of his published in the February, 1942, issue of the journal *Hispania*, showing his favorable attitude toward language study. He quoted in the same letter two lengthy paragraphs from a letter which he wrote to Prof. B. L. Ullman, president of the American Classical League. In the first paragraph he strongly supports a post-war educational program which includes languages. In the second paragraph he wrote as follows:

Coming specifically to the question of my opinion of the study of Latin I would place it along with the other languages now being taught in our secondary schools. I think that the study of Latin has considerable value for anyone who studies it thoroughly. In studying it, one acquires knowledge of a language that has helped to transmit the culture of the world. One gains in culture and background and adds, too, a more thorough understanding of the English language itself, much of which comes from the Latin. I believe that it should be kept in the foreign-language curriculum and like all other subjects should be taught as effectively as possible.

Texas—Mrs. Minnie Lee Shepard

The new State Chairman, who succeeds Mrs. Marion C. Butler, upon whose shoulders have fallen the duties of the principalship of the Waco High School, celebrates her inauguration into her chairmanship with a very impressive bulletin published by the University of Texas (Vol. v, March, 1944). It bears the title, "Present Status of Classical Education—Texas." In this Mrs. Shepard has listed eight important activities undertaken by her committee during the past year. This is followed by the names of the twenty-one members of the committee. The extent to which the bulletin serves this great

¹ Printed in part in the May issue of the JOURNAL.

state is implied in the last sentence of the *Editor's Note*: "For another year she invites the participation of every school where Latin or Greek is taught, that the report may be truly representative of the classical work of Texas and may reflect all its activities."

Tributes are given to Dr. W. J. Battle for his fifty years of service to the classics at the University of Texas, and to the retiring chairman, Mrs. Marion C. Butler, who has done so much for the Present Status cause in Texas. There are included statistics on the status of Latin and Greek in the colleges and high schools of the state. These may be considered a model in form.

One of the most interesting features of the bulletin is a series of letters which have come in to Dr. Battle and others from former students, including men in service. One, writing from North Africa, found a "keen pleasure through my knowledge of Aeneas' wanderings to this part of the world." Another, writing from an army school in Nebraska, speaks of his studying Roman History, beginning with Julius Caesar. "Caesar and Tacitus," he wrote, "were assigned as outside reading in German History. In political theory we have spent the last ten days studying Roman government. . . . At present I am outlining Caesar's *Gallic Wars* and Tacitus' *Germania*." Another fine young man, characterized as "one of our ablest alumni," now in the armed service, expressed himself in part as follows:

You can rest content that I shall steadfastly as long as I live seek to further the study of the classics as a fine instrument to ennoble life. While this means little, I know you understand that God can wait and in his good time He will swing back the pendulum and make people realize that noble thoughts and deeds to study are the greatest education. The classics, as exemplified by great men . . . will always inspire men, whether or not they appeal to the multitude. . . . You know how greatly I desired to live a constructive life, not that of a killer. If I am spared, I will still do my best to build and not destroy, though ready, I hope, always to defend from evil what is by my best lights good.

Space prevents recording the activities of the Junior Classical League and Latin Club and the various contributions made during the Latin Week of 1943. The Latin Week for 1944 is set for April 17-21. A note of importance is that Texas teachers testify that the celebration of Latin Week in 1943, by placing the values of Latin before the student body, the school officials, and the public, has resulted in an increase in the Latin enrolment. Dr. Battle has offered \$15 for the best observance of Latin Week in April, 1944, followed with an offer of \$10 by Mrs. Shepard for the second best observance. The editor would like to suggest that this seems a strong inducement to make the Latin Week in any state a success, as well as to assure a report from every participating Latin teacher.

Kansas—Winnie D. Lowrance

High schools reporting, 242. Of these the offering is as follows: first year only, 172; first and second years, 124; third year, 166; fourth year, 4. Number

of Students: first year, 3486; second year, 1810; third year, 166; fourth year, 160. Total: 5622, including one school which reported its enrolment *in toto* as 138, or 5760 for grand total, in secondary schools.

University and Colleges: University of Kansas reports enrolment down about 50 per cent. Church Colleges, 15 out of 17 reporting, give enrolment of 112 with an average of 8 courses offered. The attitude of the administration in each case is reported as favorable. One college reports that requiring Latin of English majors is under consideration. Two colleges offer no Latin, but will offer it on demand. Teachers' Colleges: of the three in Kansas, only one offers Latin this year, with two small classes. Emporia has had no Latin since the death of Professor Holtz, and Hays has had none since Professor Brook's retirement. At Hays the enrolment has dropped from 1100 to 265. This is typical of the other teachers' colleges.

The Present Status Committee

For the coming year there will be a re-organized Present Status Committee which, we hope, will enable us to work together with greater efficiency. Your editor, in ending this year's Letters, would like to remind you of something you already know; that no matter what the Committee organization may be, the purpose to which you and I dedicated ourselves at Chicago on December 27, 1935, cannot be achieved except by hard work.

Are there not other ways, in addition to the excellent Latin Week, by which we may make our communities "language conscious"? May we not work more effectively at times by close co-operation with the modern-language departments? Do we solicit sufficiently the interest of our local newspapers and radio stations both to *tell about* and to *demonstrate* what we are contributing to the education of the young folk in our communities? Can we not keep articles flowing into our own classical periodicals and yet add something readable for the lay publications? Can we not lend some encouragement to the small-town Latin teacher who has the added burden of classes in English, algebra, history, and dramatics?

The coming year will be a critical year. It will call for educational vitamins of high potency. It will demand of us that we make up our minds on the true aims of Latin teaching and exhibit a spirit of hard work and self-sacrifice in giving young Americans a satisfying language experience.

Cordially yours,

1152 East Court Street
Iowa City, Iowa

DORRANCE S. WHITE

RECENT BOOKS¹

(Compiled by Herbert Newell Couch, Brown University)

- ALEXANDER, WILLIAM HARDY, *Seneca's Dialogi III, IV, V, De Ira Libri Tres*, The Text Emended and Explained, "University of California Publications in Classical Philology," Vol. 12, No. 12, pp. 225-254: Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press (1943). \$.25.
- ARISTOTLE, *On the Heavens*, "Loeb Classical Library," With an English Translation by W. K. C. Guthrie: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1943). Pp. xxxvi+378. \$.250.
- The Baconian Lectures*, 1943, "Series on Aims and Progress of Research," No. 75: Iowa City, University of Iowa Press (1943). Pp. 120.
- BERARD, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité: l'histoire et la légende*: Paris, E. de Boccard (1941). Pp. 555.
- BOAK, ARTHUR E. R., *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.*, Third Edition: New York, The Macmillan Company (1943). Pp. xxii+552, Index. \$.450.
- BOYD, JAMES, *Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris*, An Interpretation and Critical Analysis: Oxford, Blackwell (1942). Pp. 176. 12s. 6d.
- BRIM, CHARLES J., *Medicine in the Bible*: New York, Max Reibeison (1943). Pp. 384. \$.300.
- BROWN, ROBERT T., *Modern Latin Conversation*: Boston, Heath (1943). Pp. 63. \$.40.
- CHEARNISS, HAROLD, *The Biographical Fashion in Literary Criticism*, "University of California Publications in Classical Philology," Vol. 12, No. 15, pp. 279-292: Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press (1943). \$.25.
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- GLOVER, T. R., *The Mind of St. Paul*: New York, Oxford University Press (1942). Pp. 24. \$.75.

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Washington University, St. Louis (5), Mo.

- Greek Literature in Translation*, Edited by Whitney J. Oates and Charles T. Murphy: New York, Longmans, Green and Company (1944). Pp. 1072, Map, Glossary, Bibliographies. \$5.00.
- HART, WALTER MORRIS, *High Comedy in the Odyssey*, "University of California Publications in Classical Philology," Vol. 12, No. 14, pp. 263-278: Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press (1943). \$.25.
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- JAEGER, WERNER, *Humanism and Theology*, "The Aquinas Lecture, 1943": Milwaukee, Marquette University Press (1943). Pp. vii+87. \$1.50.
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- LIVY, *Roman History*, With an English Translation by Frank Gardner Moore, Vol. VII, Books xxvi and xxvii, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1943). Pp. 424, 8 Maps and Plans. \$2.50.
- LOOMIS, LOUISE ROPES, Ed., *Aristotle, On the Universe*: New York, Classics Club (1943).
- LYTH, JOHN, *Selections from Marcus Aurelius in a Verse Rendering*: London, Allen and Unwin (1942). Pp. 20. 2s.
- MACARTHUR, JOHN R., *Ancient Greece in Modern America*: Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers (1943). Pp. 395. \$6.00.
- MARKETOS, B. I., *Greece at the Crossroad* (In Modern Greek): New York, National Herald (1943). Pp. 331, Ill. \$2.00.
- MARSH, FRANK BURR, *Modern Problems in the Ancient World*: Austin, University of Texas Press (1943). Pp. 123. \$1.00.
- NASH, ERNEST, *Roman Towns*: New York, J. J. Augustine, Inc. (1944). Pp. 60, 145 photographs, 7 plans. \$6.00.
- The Odyssey of Homer*, in the English Verse Translation of Alexander Pope, Illustrated with Classical Designs by John Flaxman: New York, Heritage Press (1942). Pp. 373. \$3.75.
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- RACKHAM, H., *Aristotle's Ethics*, for English Readers: Oxford, Blackwell (1943). Pp. 176. 6s. 6d.
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- RICHARDSON, LAWRENCE, JR., *Poetical Theory in Republican Rome*, "Undergraduate Prize Essays," Vol. V: New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press (1944). Pp. 173. \$1.00.
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